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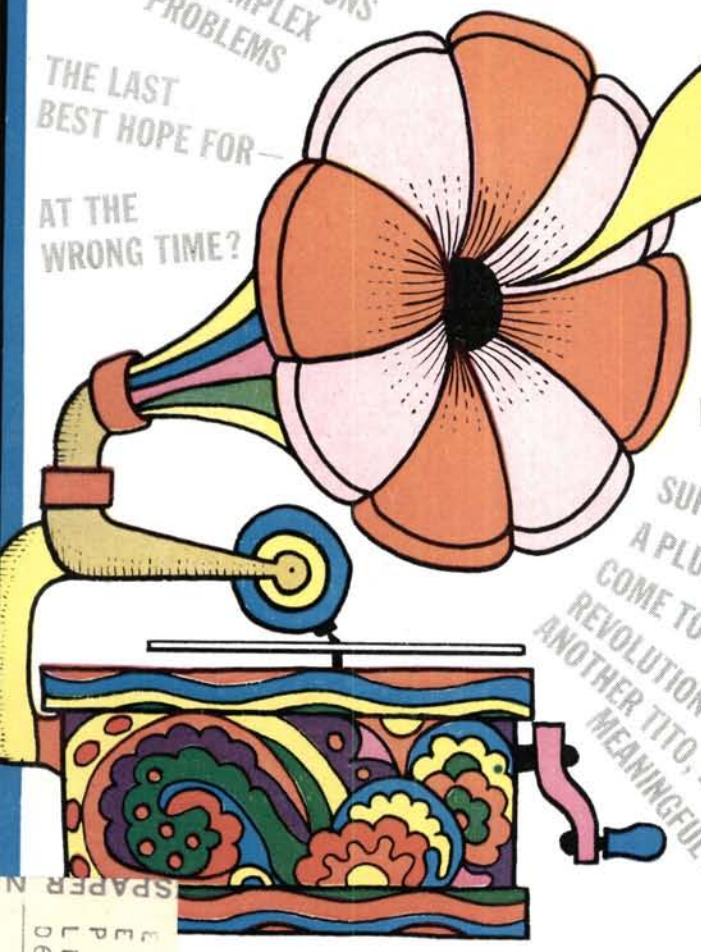
JUNE 27, 1967

Will the Jews Help Us Defeat North Vietnam?

NATIONAL REVIEW



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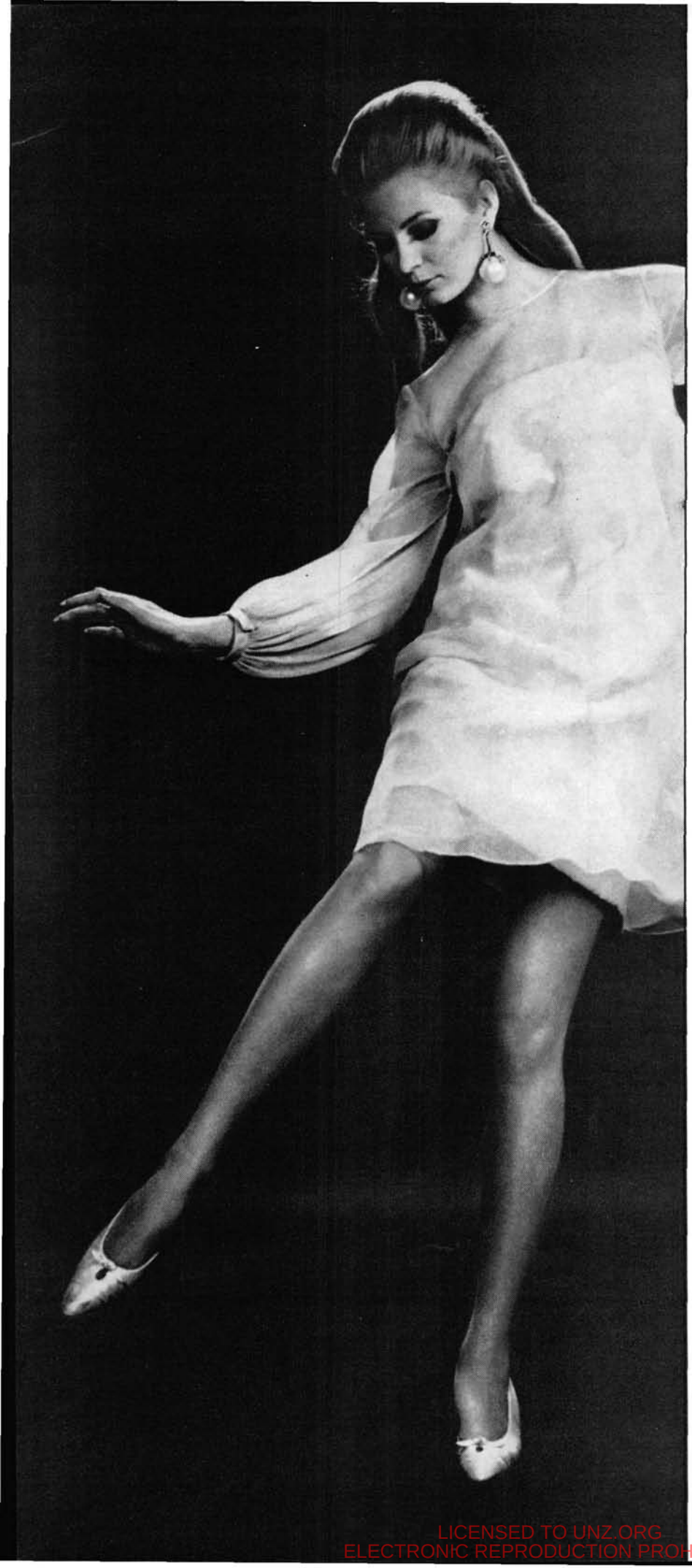

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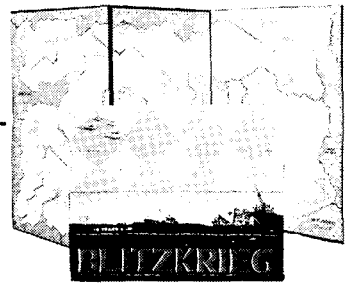

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JUNE 27, 1967

NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XIX No. 25

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IN • THIS • ISSUE

➔We feature two very interesting reports on American involvement in foreign affairs. **"James Fletcher"** is a young Virginia gentleman with a doctorate from The University. He will return this summer from England where he has been studying at Oxford. He reports on the developing attitude of the British press towards American operations in Vietnam and also on the prevailing climate of the British teach-in. . . . One night in a small hotel in Georgia, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles unburdened himself of a string of opinions and reminiscences concerning the Suez affair (1956) and the prospective American engagement in Southeast Asia. His opinions then have a decided bearing on the situation today both in the Middle East and Vietnam. **Louis Jefferson,** who was Dulles' chief bodyguard for five years, listened attentively; the result, published here, is a fascinating footnote to history. . . . A former associate editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, now in the insurance business in Toronto, **Donald G. M. Coxe** analyzes the highly unusual Carter Report on reform of Canadian tax law, and suggests it is something the U.S. Congress might well study and emulate . . . . **Victor Gold** takes off on canned punditry with the kind of good humor that endeared him to the press when he was pr honcho for the Goldwater campaign back in '64. He continues in the public relations business, based in Washington. . . . **Dorothy Livadas** turns her journalistic training to good use in her description of the Siege of Eastman Kodak—one of the few capers sponsored by Saul Alinsky that have flopped.

➔**Wm. F. Buckley Jr.,** observing the dispatch with which Israel conducted her recent military operations, suggests that the U.S. might benefit from a mutual defense pact, if only because it would keep reminding our domestic doves how difficult it is to be doves in Danang and hawks in Haifa. . . . **James Burnham** breaks through the general respect paid to the Israeli campaign and reminds us that the long-term results of American policy in the Near East must be founded on our relations with the Arab nations . . . . **Russell Kirk** is amazed and grateful in the presence of Prof. Jack Gourman's "rating system" for U.S. colleges and universities. The results, recently published, give much food for thought, and coincide remarkably with Prof. Kirk's own impressions of the hundreds of campuses he has visited . . . . **Nika Standen Hazelton** goes into the history, sociology, and gastronomy of picnics, urging that you chill the champagne, and quite possibly eat indoors.

➔**Philip Burnham,** writing from Tucson, reviews the scandalous new book by the venerable Jacques Maritain. In our May 30 issue, Thomas Molnar described how the book had shaken Paris. Here Mr. Burnham explains the very good reasons for that shock. . . . **Guy Davenport** passes three novelists in review — Edwin Lanham, Margery Sharp, and Marguerite Dorian, of whom the greatest isn't. . . . Prof. **Stephen Tonsor** sets his seal of approval on a germinal work by Klaus Epstein, which "clearly establishes Professor Epstein as the most important living historian of the German-speaking peoples." Along the way, Prof. Tonsor produces a gem of historical dissertation himself . . . . **Nicholas Tomalin,** a British observer who writes for the *New Statesman,* properly despises the schoolboy humor of the parody *MacBird!*➔

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LETTERS

Hatfield on the Draft

I expect to be criticized in your pages because my views on Vietnam are different from your own. But, it makes me unhappy to find myself criticized for taking a position similar to yours on the subject of the military draft.

In a column headed "GOP Doings" in your May 2 issue, I read to my astonishment that "Hatfield had called for repeal of selective service (for pacifist reasons, not reasons of efficiency or equity)." As a combat veteran of the World War II Navy and a member of the Navy League, I say to you that my reasons for calling for a transition from a draft system to an all-volunteer armed force are not pacifist. The plain fact of the matter—to anyone not determined to oppose anything I say merely because I say it—is that I am opposed to the draft for reasons of efficiency, equity and liberty, and have said so time and again before every kind of audience.

Washington, D.C. MARK O. HATFIELD
United States Senator

Burnham on the Draftniks

With due respect to Mr. Burnham, creator of the article "The Antidraft Movement" [June 13], I believe he misses the mark entirely by asserting that "Young Americans for Freedom is going along with the movement" as it is advocated by the Left.

To say that the Left has a monopoly on the draft issue is to say that we, as conservatives, must turn our backs on the realization of individual freedom's propagation in an American institution of great imperfection, the draft. To defy the present system on the basis that it's collectivist and to strive for a more equitable system is certainly no mandate for the Left.

Flushing, N.Y. RONALD F. DOCKSAI
Coordinator
Queens County YAF

Wills on Manchester

A resounding Amen to the Garry Wills' review of the Manchester mish-mosh [May 30]. For mawkish sentimentality and idolatrous hysteria *The Death of a President* has no peer.

New York, N.Y. LUCY MERRION SHIELS

NR's Madness

NATIONAL REVIEW of May 30, with its *N.Y. Times* parody, was/is the most. I admire, and congratulate you on converting *Mad*'s liberal technique, at long last, to conservative ends.

Washington, D.C. HOWARD HUNT

NR's Fans

This is a plain and simple fan letter, written during a burst of appreciative ecstasy over the quality of your magazine. My husband and I, both Stanford '66, yawn and ho-hum quite often as we listen to the tirades of our fashionably Left-minded friends. I'm sure you can imagine how much we enjoy the wit, frankness and outright guts displayed in *NR* articles. Sure, we dress a little hippier than our parents, we like to freak (LSD-less) around Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, and we're not shy about discussing any subject—but we refuse to reject principles which we believe to be tried and true. In short, we are on your wave-length, *NR*. Long may you publish.

San Jose, Cal. DICK & DOROTHY POTTER

NR's 'Godawful'

The cover of the May 30 magazine contains some really objectionable expressions, for example "Godawful" and "Hot Poop." Inside the issue is a card asking me to recommend the magazine to a friend. I would be ashamed to show any friend this cover.

Ontario, Cal. MRS. JOHN PLASMAN

God Save the Queens

Regarding Ferdinand Mount's "Faded Splendor of a Royal Line" [June 13], I wonder. The *United States* can make the crossing in a little over three days; the *Queen Mary* and the *Normandie* required a little more; and the *Queen Elizabeth*'s peace-time capability has never been recorded. Would it not be worth building a faster vessel, to attract passengers who would like to sing on Sunday "Praise My Soul the King of Heaven"? Maybe, if it could be predetermined; if not, neither would it be worth planning a 1968 NATIONAL REVIEW, nor another Trooping of the Colors. I wonder.

Ambler, Pa. J. PAUL MORRIS JR.

Against Rhodesia

I want to congratulate you on the excellent article, "Rhodesia: A Case History," in the May 16 issue. There are at least three dozen countries which create an immeasurably greater danger than Rhodesia does to peace, in which the UN does not dare to do anything. One cannot understand the attitude of the UN toward Rhodesia, S.W.A., and Angola unless one realizes that the UN is embarking on a naked war of conquest against White Africa, if possible by words and resolutions; if necessary by arms, but preferably by the arms of others.

Vienna, Austria E. VON HOFMANNSTHAL

I finished a few moments ago the J. J. Kilpatrick, R. A. Wormser, and W. D. Jacobs article "Rhodesia; A Case History." Unfortunately, I know little of the present situation in that country and thus would not attempt an opinion on the article. There is, however, one point I should take issue with. In Section V the authors draw parallels between the Rhodesian and American Declarations of Independence. They also mention some of the unmentionables in the American past: slavery, the "appalling record of treachery, genocide, and discrimination in their treatment of the Indian," and the problems of franchise. The implicit conclusion the authors draw here is that America is not an "innocent" nation. With such a past (and present) we should be in our attitude and approach to our world neighbors rather humane and generous than moralistic and self-righteous. However, has the world not advanced past 1788, 1869, or 1920? Must we expect, and accept, every nation to make all the bigoted and "undemocratic" mistakes we have made? Must the mistakes of the past be made over and over again?

The authors end with a call for "evolution." This is fine. Most people would agree that evolution is desirable. But, America had a century to itself. Mr. Smith says a generation for the Rhodesians. Today, we can have a few major wars in that period not to mention numerous smaller wars. In a word, the authors still seem to think that today's date is 1776.

Boulder, Colo. D. JOHN MURCHIE

Since Mr. Murchie can't give Rhodesia a generation to itself, could he give it a year? Six months? —ED.

California Wines

Did Alec Waugh ["Wines of America", May 16] bother to tour our California vineyards or merely gather his misinformation from some handy government bulletin?

If he found a cool spot or any fine dry wines produced in the San Bernardino Valley, he certainly made a unique discovery. He probably means the Napa Valley in Northern California, where the soil and cool coastal climate produce great (yes, *great*) wines that rival their European counterparts.

He also leaves the reader with the false impression that the Spanish missionaries were responsible for the introduction of these great vines. The padres brought from Spain via Mexico a vine known here as the "Mission" which has never produced remarkable wines.

(Continued on p. 668)

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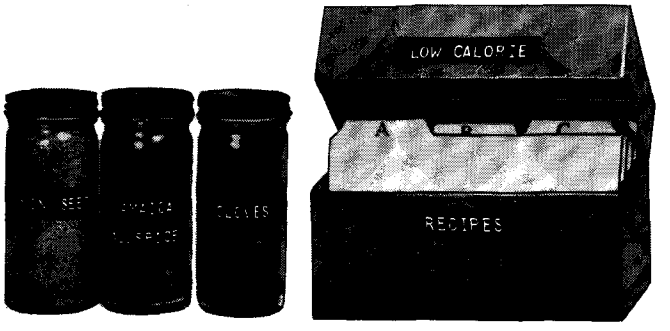

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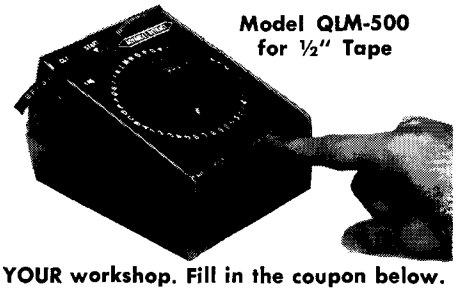

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 666)

The unkindest cut of all is Waugh's statement that our champagnes are made by the vat process. True, the two-dollar bottles are Charmat-processed, but the numerous four- and five-dollar fifths are perfected with the same tender loving care practiced at Rheims.

Yours for veritas in vino,

MARKHAM F. MacLIN

Santa Barbara, Cal.

The Home Front

I admire Thomas Boru for daring to place the focus of the Vietnam war on the people here at home. His poem in the May 2 issue forced upon me a thoughtful look at the Vietnam war.

Greenville, Ill. CAROL COLLINS

Rent Control

I congratulate *NR* for being the first publication that I know of to report the full financial facts about rent control [June 13]. There can be little doubt that rent control continually discriminates against landlords. Yet I have never heard of the ACLU attempting to rectify the situation.

Woodside, N.Y. JAMES E. GAFFNEY

NATIONAL REVIEW

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The WEEK

● As to the Near East: King Constantine should be exiled to Istanbul. The Turks should be expelled from the UN. Archbishop Makarios should be defrocked and pensioned to Cairo on the CIA budget. The Arabs should be sent to Germany. The Jews should be given Africa. Cyprus should be moved to the Red Sea. Malta should be returned to Sidney Greenstreet and Humphrey Bogart, where it started. Hoagy Carmichael Jr. should inherit Casablanca from his daddy. Mount Sinai should be seen to be believed. Bethlehem should be demilitarized. All jehads should be registered with the UN. No camel shall be driven without a current license. Hashish only during business hours. Ramadan is off limits to psychedelics. No Sabbaths on Sunday.

● "But [Daniel] Webster accepted favors not as gifts but as services which he believed were rightly due him. When he tried to resign from the Senate in 1836 to recoup speculative losses through his law practice, his Massachusetts business friends joined to pay his debts to retain him in office."—*Profiles In Courage*, John F. Kennedy, p. 84-85.

● Big Jim Garrison, the fanciful district attorney from New Orleans, seems to be repudiating the city's subculture of criminals, narcotics addicts and sexual deviates. Which would be normal behavior for most law enforcement officials, but not so for Garrison, whose flimsy assassination theories are drawn from the testimony of a few of these undesirables. The DA's about-face came June 11, when two convicted Louisiana burglars told a *New York Times* reporter that Garrison's investigators had offered bribes in return for "cooperation." One of the two, Miguel Torres, a one-time heroin addict now in the state prison at Angola, said he was offered his freedom, an ounce of heroin, and three months' vacation in Florida if he would help substantiate Garrison's case. Garrison told the *Times* reporter that he wouldn't lower himself to answer such charges. He seemed genuinely shocked that anyone could give credence to the outbursts of a convicted criminal. Okay, Mr. Garrison: but what do we do about Vernon Bundy, the heroin addict now in Orleans Parish prison, whose testimony linking Clay Shaw to Lee Harvey Oswald was instrumental in winning the indictment against Shaw? And if we throw out the testimony of all criminals, addicts, and deviates, what's left? Only Shaw's testimony that he never knew Oswald and, oh yes, last month's charge by Alvin Beauboeuf, a New Orleans service station operator, that a Garrison investigator offered him $3,000 and a job with an airline if he would play ball with the DA.

● Boston, Kennedy family seat, was the scene of the first full-scale race riot of the summer season. Several nights of arson, looting, destruction and disorder were triggered by welfare recipients who demand, among other goals, a voice in welfare policy and removal of the city's welfare director. Just two days before the riot, J. Edgar Hoover put it and other troubles still to come in perspective: he blasted civil rights leaders for reciting lists of cities where violence can be expected, noting that this is a provocation to local hot-heads which "puts them on notice that they are expected to riot." No comment on the Boston events has been heard from the brothers Kennedy.

● The minimum hourly wage has just risen to $1.40, and is likely to go even higher in years to come. Who benefits? Certainly not the small businessman; quite as certainly, not the marginal worker: the teenager, the vacationing college student, the semi-retired older person, the unskilled, the mentally or physically handicapped person who can work—but not skilfully or quickly enough to earn $1.40 per hour in the free marketplace. According to a survey by the National Federation of Independent Business, employers—especially in small towns and rural areas—are responding to the latest minimum wage hike by automating (where possible), dismissing part-time unskilled workers, eliminating apprenticeships and, sometimes, going out of business altogether. The Fair Labor Standards Act, which set up the minimum wage, operates with mounting unfairness to those it is supposed to help—the lowest wage-earners. Perhaps the politicians who jack up minimum wages will realize someday that the people being thrown out of work are not merely human beings, but also voters.

● The Israel-Arab war may have had a scattergun effect among the nation's doves causing numbers of them to become hawks just this once, but it confused our native Communists not at all. They are playing it now, as always, the Moscow way. A front page editorial in the *Worker* (June 11) signed by General Secretary Gus Hall finds that this is the wrong war at the wrong time, a war brought about by the "imperialist oil vultures" using Israel as their pawn. "It is a war from which only the forces of the U.S. and British imperialism—the foreign oil monopolies—can benefit. It pits the forces of imperialism [Britain, U.S., using Israel] against the forces of nationalism [the multi-state peoples of the Middle East]." It was

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brought about by Israeli aggression—large shipments of U.S. war goods were reaching Israel through Eilat. It must be settled by Israel's withdrawal to her 1956 boundaries and finding a just settlement of the refugee problem. "The road to peace in the Middle East lies, in the end, in expelling the only real alien force there—the oil vultures of the West."

● Interior Secretary Stewart Udall seems not to have heard about his boss's fondness for bridges to the East. Last month, Udall recommended that only U.S. firms be permitted to bid on construction of three super-generators (an unprecedented 600,000 kilowatts each) for the Grand Coulee Dam—thus rejecting a request from the Soviet Union that it be allowed to submit bids for the job. There are those who doubt that the Russians are serious about the offer. Would the Russians be willing to go along with the standard contract provision that calls for close and continuous inspection by U.S. Government personnel of the entire manufacturing process?

● Recommended reading: two articles in the May issue of *Rally* magazine. Historian William Wooldridge describes the great confrontation of the 1840s when private entrepreneurs almost—almost—brought the U.S. Post Office to its knees. And historian Justin Walsh, thinking of the blood-and-thunder issuing from some of today's pulpits, reminds us of the tragic aftermath of Theodore Parker's sermon, slightly more than a century ago, in which he called for "white blood," and got it within the hour.

● Color yet one more Rockefeller silly, this time Steven C., the ministerial son of Governor Nelson. At a commencement ceremony on June 7 he deplored the U.S. failure to support the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, he urged the U.S. to defend without limit the "rights and independence of Israel," and then he went on to call for an immediate halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, characterizing the U.S. involvement in that sphere as immoral, unjust, unintelligent, feckless and un-American. It's a new form of schizophrenia: dove during hostilities, hawk when the shooting stops. And how do you make a dove-hawk? Mix a cuckoo and a cowbird.

● George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, gave a speech recently on international trade, in which he pointed out that the popular current proposals for broader trade with the Communist bloc expose the U.S. not only to the possibility of accelerating the Communists' industrial expansion but also to the near certainty of financing it: "Another aspect," he said, "of the East-West trade problem is how the trade would be financed. Normally, short- or medium-term credits are arranged. What Russia is seeking, though, is long-term credit. . . . . In view of the risks involved, little long-term credit would be extended unless Western governments provided companies with firm guarantees—in other words, unless the taxpayers vouched for the credits. Now some may call this 'trade' but it looks to me suspiciously like economic aid, and enables the Communists to divert resources to military production and international subversion." Mr. Champion is *our* friend at Chase Manhattan.

● Recommended reading: the article "Castro and the *New York Times*" in the current (Spring) *Modern Age*. It's a careful review of the *Times*'s editorial technique in first elevating the image, then struggling sadly to abandon it. The authors are Carl McMurray, administrative assistant to the governor of Alaska, and Charles Dunn, special assistant to the Minority Whip of the House of Representatives.

● Cowboys and Indians! Cops and robbers! In Red China today it's Revolutionaries and Bourgeois Reactionaries!

Picking Up the Pieces

Elsewhere in this issue Messrs. Buckley, Burnham and Emmet discuss various aspects of the Mideast war and its aftermath. Here we add three special notes.

1. Jerusalem

For the past two decades Jerusalem has been divided, Berlin-like, between Israeli and Jordanian sovereignty. The Israeli army captured the Jordanian sector. Israel is now in de facto control of the entire city, and Israeli spokesmen have declared their intention of retaining control.

It seems to us, however, that there is a powerful case for making Jerusalem an open city under international jurisdiction. Jerusalem is, uniquely, a holy city of the three great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam; within its walls are places, relics and monuments most sacred to the faithful of all three. Sovereignty by any single nation violates Jerusalem's peculiar supra-secular essence, and fails to furnish to any of the three communities or to mankind at large the necessary assurance for its safety and its accessibility.

Ambassador Goldberg and Secretary-General U Thant might take this suggestion under advisement in their search for the key to Middle Eastern peace.

2. Air Strikes

The June 5 pre-dawn attack by the Israeli air force was, by all the accounts, a textbook operation carried out with A+ performance. In conception it

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R., Ohio) announced the formation of a separate caucus in the House of conservative Republican congressmen to press their Party leaders to oppose more vigorously the liberal programs of the Administration. The proposed organization, which Ashbrook predicted would have a majority of House Republicans as members, will also work to rally support for a 1968 conservative Presidential candidate. The organization will be patterned after the Democratic Study Group (which has 145 liberal House Democrats), and the now dormant "Wednesday Club," which has 26 liberal GOP members. The group will have its own research, whip, and campaign operations and will work in cooperation with, but independently of, the House Republican leadership. Plans for the "Conservative Caucus" were disclosed in a report prepared by the American Conservative Union, of which Rep. Ashbrook is chairman. The ACU report was sharply critical of liberal House Republicans for fomenting disunity and of Party leaders in both House and Senate for repeatedly supporting the White House. The report chided House Minority Leader Gerald Ford for his announced strategy of renouncing a "conservative coalition" with Southern Democrats when Democratic votes are needed to defeat liberal legislation.

◆ The American Conservative Union called on the House Republican leadership to "force elected Republicans back into the arms of responsibility and the mainstream of American thought." In a well-documented publication called the "DMV [Democratic Margin of Victory] Report," the ACU listed the number of times since 1961 that Republican members of the House had supported major Democratic legislation. The report revealed that a homeward switch of a handful of Republican votes would have defeated many key Administration proposals. Vital Republican desertions were recorded on such major issues as war on poverty programs, rent subsidies, open housing, mass transit, "model cities," area redevelopment, foreign aid, and the repeal of right-to-work provisions. Among the staunchest GOP supporters of the Administration were Rep. Halpern (N.Y.), who voted with the Democrats on 22 of 24 issues; Dwyer (N.J.), on eighteen of 24 issues; Reid (N.Y.) on sixteen of eighteen issues; and Reps. Corbett (Pa.), Cahill (N.J.), Morse (Mass.), and Mathias (Md.) on fifteen of 24 issues. Other wholesale defectors from GOP ranks included Reps. Horton (N.Y.), Conte (Mass.), Fulton (Pa.), Stafford (Vt.), Frelinghuysen (N.J.), Schweiker (Pa.), Pirnie (N.Y.), McDade (Pa.), Fino (N.Y.), Maillard (Pa.), Widnall (N.J.), Bates (Mass.), Ayres (Ohio), and Saylor (N.Y.). On the other hand, 42 Republican House Members of the 90th Congress cast no votes with the Democrats during the 87th, 88th, 89th, and 90th Congresses from 1961 through 1967, and 38 Republican freshmen have so far cast no votes with the Democrats.

◆ Two little-known bureaucracies that had somehow quietly disappeared without doing anything memorable have just as quietly been reactivated recently. An international commission for the preservation of peace between the U.S. and Finland, a group which, according to State Department sources, has never held a single meeting, has been enlarged. President Johnson named an international law professor from the University of Montevideo in Uruguay as the commission's newest member. No one at the White House or the Finnish Embassy could describe just exactly what the commission was supposed to do, and the last known appointee to the commission, a professor emeritus at Princeton who became a member in 1928, was unavailable for comment. Meantime a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, jocularly known as the "Office of Alien Property," which ran out of things to do in 1956, was extended and given a new lease on life by the Senate. The subcommittee, given the provocative title of "The Trading With the Enemy Subcommittee," was allotted $25,000 to review the projected disbursement of some $200 million in WW II war claim funds. Assurances by Chairman John L. McClellan (D., Ark.) that the unit would be dissolved as soon as the funds had been exhausted were greeted with skepticism by Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D., La.), who has been trying for over ten years to whittle down the nearly $10 million budget of 32 different subcommittees with ever expanding agendas. "I'll believe it when I see it," Sen. Ellender said. "These Senate subcommittees never die." Apparently they just change their names. **—CATO**

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presents a notable contrast to our recent attacks on North Vietnam's air force.

The Israeli air force struck a total blow, with the objective of destroying the enemy air capability. The simultaneity of the onslaught, the prior deceptive propaganda, the timing and the evasive flight course achieved surprise. The Israeli pilots hit every major enemy base that threatened closely. They got the enemy planes mostly on the ground, but even if many of them had been in the air, the attack would probably have succeeded at least sufficiently to give Israel air superiority.

In Vietnam our policy of gradual escalation makes strategic surprise impossible. Our piecemeal tactics prevent really destructive blows on any major enemy component. We needlessly permitted him to build up a small but troubling air force without taking counteraction. In short, our operations against the enemy's air force are in accord with our general strategy, and the sorry contrary of Dayan's.

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3. U S S Liberty

We believe a joint select committee of Congress should investigate the strange case of the USS *Liberty*. We believe further that, though part of the testimony would no doubt have to be classified, the conclusions should be made known as soon as arrived at. With nearly three dozen deaths and a hundred casualties, the American public has surely the right to know.

It is not much of a secret that the *Liberty* is what Castro denounces as a "spy ship" when he refers to the similar craft usually present in waters not far from Havana. Although the euphemistic terms, "technical research ship" and "communications ship," are not strictly false, this type is also an advanced electronics intelligence system which, when placed not too far away, can monitor everything from the top command down to what the sergeant orders on the field.

Ordinarily the Navy keeps quiet about the whereabouts of its spy ships. But it would be a self-evident idiocy to order a ship of such a kind, or any U.S. naval vessel, into an active war zone without notifying the warring parties. So, Question No. 1 for the investigating committee: Did Admiral McCain, who commands the *Liberty*'s operations area, notify the Israelis? If he did not, someone on his staff is guilty of a monumental stupidity or oversight.

If the Israelis were notified, then there are two possibilities. Perhaps the snafu or stupidity was in *their* apparatus, and the word was never sent down the line. Such things can happen even in the Israeli armed forces.

However, it remains logically possible that the Israeli command, knowing of the *Liberty*'s identification and presence, ordered the attack, or deliberately withheld the information from lower echelons in the expectation that an attack might be made on local initiative. Israel's hard (Dayan) faction may well have been angry at the United States for having

imposed what it believed to be an injurious delay on military operations. And the Israeli command may not have wanted the U.S. to acquire hard evidence of certain of their doings, including, perhaps, proof of who started things where, along with knowledge of secret operational procedures, coded texts that would permit breaking of codes, and so on. The Lavon affair, in which Israeli agents attacked U.S. offices in Cairo with the blame being thrown on the Egyptians, and other ruthless, imaginative Israeli intelligence operations, suggest that this possibility cannot be automatically dismissed.

One thing at least is proved by analysis on the facts already at hand. The incident was *not* "an accident." It was an act either of stupidity gross enough to be negligence, or of aggression. Although there is not much to be done about it now, we'd like to know.

On Declarations

Declaring holidays are best!
I also love to pass the cup
For dividends declared to crest
When everything is up.

Napoleon enjoyed declar-
Ing everyone in Europe "free,"
While Keynes declared that laissez-faire
Is sheer apostasy.

Declaring bankruptcy's a bore;
Declaring war is mankind's curse.
But I believe what Lord Balfour
Declared was even worse.

W. H. VON DREELE

Toward Free and Responsible Speech

In a double decision handed down at its crowded end-of-term session June 12, the Supreme Court extended the clarification of the law of libel which it began with its 1964 opinion in the case of Sullivan *v. New York Times*. In that notable ruling, the Court declared, in effect, that criticism of a public official on a matter of urgent public concern was not libelous, even if defamatory and false, unless motivated by "active malice." Active malice was defined as meaning "with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not." On this reasoning the Court reversed a $500,000 judgment won in a suit by L. B. Sullivan, Commissioner of Public Affairs of Montgomery, Alabama, against the *Times*.

A major issue left open in 1964 was whether the principle is limited in application to "public officials." The new finding makes explicit its extension to "public figures"—i.e., persons who "thrust themselves into the vortex of public disputes" or who occupy a position that commands wide public attention. "Freedom of the press," Chief Justice Warren writes, guaran-

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tees the right of "uninhibited debate" concerning public figures and "their involvement in public issues and events."

Four justices declared for a somewhat stricter rule of responsibility for public figures than the "active malice" standard for public officials. But all nine agreed in upholding the appeal of the Associated Press from a $500,000 judgment won in the lower courts by former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker. Though the AP dispatch on Gen. Walker's conduct at the Ole Miss 1962 riot was in part false, it was not libelous, since it was not "an extreme departure from the standards of investigation and reporting ordinarily adhered to by responsible publishers" in handling "hot news."

By 5-4, however, the Court upheld the award of $460,000 to Wallace Butts, former athletic director of the University of Georgia, against the Curtis Publishing Co. for statements made in an article published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. The Court found that the *Post*, though not under the pressure of "hot news" and a daily deadline, had failed to take "elementary precaution" in checking its story on Butts.

By linking these two decisions the Court was affirming a broad and vigorous interpretation of free speech in public debate of public issues, along with a commonsense minimum of responsibility on the part of the debaters.

The ADL Defames Again

The Anti-Defamation League has a genius for vulgarizing any subject it touches. The organization was originally founded to guard against anti-Semitism. In recent years it has gone in for the bigthink, taking firm positions on any number of social issues that have nothing whatever to do with anti-Semitism. But it regularly defames, as for instance in the series of books by Mr. Arnold Forster and Mr. Benjamin Epstein, those whose views it disagrees with.

Most recently, the League announced that it would launch a national drive to uproot such anti-Semitism as it discovered during the Mideast crisis. Most virulent were the Americans who telephoned in to radio talk shows to give their views. One such instance, cited by the League, was the man who called in to say, "Why should we send American boys to fight Israel's war?" The League's director wonders why the radio stations didn't interdict such sentiments, via the "holding devices" available to all radio stations.

Why is it anti-Semitic to say: "We have no business fighting the Israelis' war?" Is it anti-Oriental to say: "We have no business fighting the Vietnamese's war?" Our own position is that the United States has essential interests in the Mideast even as we do in Asia, but people ought to be free to disagree with that position without being called racists. The Anti-Defamation League's arrogance, and its undisguised disposition to suppress the views of the opposition, had a chilling effect in a week in which Israel won the spontaneous admiration of the entire country.

Morte d'Arthur?

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., God bless him—if there is a God, if not never mind—is still capable of a surprise or two. His native cunning prevented him, last week, from signing one of the hawkier statements calling for instant military intervention in the Mideast. The statement in question was distributed in behalf of Americans for Democracy in the Middle East by Mr. Charles Silberman, an editor of *Fortune* Magazine. It is recorded that the sharp-tongued Mr. John Roche, who has no patience for humbug, called Mr. Silberman from the White House where Mr. Roche sits at Arthur Schlesinger's old desk, and suggested that the Committee's advertisement be signed "Doves For War." It is not known whether Mr. Silberman, who along with most of the other signers has been yelling his head off at Lyndon Johnson for using military force in Southeast Asia, was amused. If we had to guess, it would be that he was not.

And as for Mr. Schlesinger, whose sense of humor is not absolutely secure, he was, to begin with, annoyed at being asked to sign the declaration, admitting that signers of it were caught in an inconsistency. But when asked later to clarify his position he gave other reasons for not signing, both of them extraordinary. The first is that he never signs any statement that he has not written himself. Suppose everyone adopted that position? It could mean the end of the Joint Statement, something Mr. Schlesinger surely does not want to encourage. Who would then be left to sign Mr. Schlesinger's future statements? Nobody? Well, there's a point to be made in favor of that. But it is indicative of how balled up Mr. Schlesinger became, that he should have invited speculation of that kind.

And then he gave as his second reason for not signing the statement that his views on the Middle East are nobody's business. Now that, surely, is the strangest position of all for Mr. Schlesinger to take, and one even wonders if he is quite well. Since when is it no one's business to consult the views of Mr. Schlesinger? Presidents and princes have been beheaded for failing to consult Mr. Schlesinger's views on public matters. It boggles the imagination to suppose that the events of last week proceeded without at least one telephone call from General Dayan to Mr. Schlesinger. Let's just leave it that Mr. Schlesinger is overworked, and pledge together to restrain the

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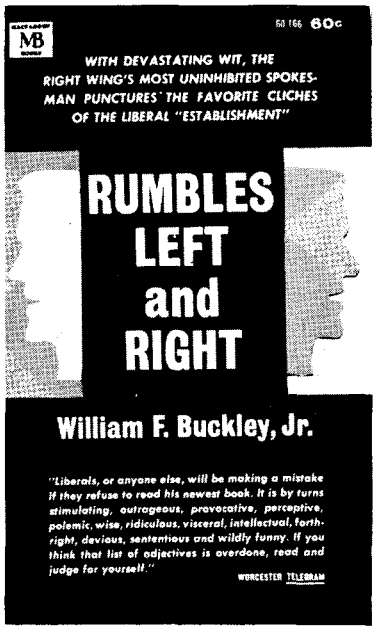
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IMPORTANT NOTE

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impulse to ask him his views on public affairs until he is quite well again. Even if it takes years and years.

Cops, Crooks and Bugs

In the latest of its series of crusades against effective law enforcement, the Supreme Court, by a 5-4 vote, has struck down a New York statute permitting court-approved bugging of premises harboring suspected criminals. The decision wipes similar laws in five other states off the books. There is no federal law prohibiting bugging (wiretapping, a different matter, was outlawed by the Federal Communications Act of 1934), and until now the lawmakers have guided their practices by related Supreme Court rulings, which seemed to say that bugging is all right unless a physical trespass has occurred in the placing of the bug. In other words, New York courts could and did authorize the police to put electronic eavesdropping devices *outside* the home, office, or whatever of the suspect being bugged. Not any more.

Associate Justice Tom Clark, generally considered one of the "conservative" members of the court, wrote the majority opinion in the June 12 ruling. Clark, in his last official act before retirement, said that the Court was outlawing the New York statute, not electronic eavesdropping *per se*, but that's hardly the effect of the ruling. According to the decision, any revised law would also be unconstitutional unless, among other things, it provided that the police give prior notice to the suspects being bugged that the law was planning to listen in. Now that's a sensible idea!

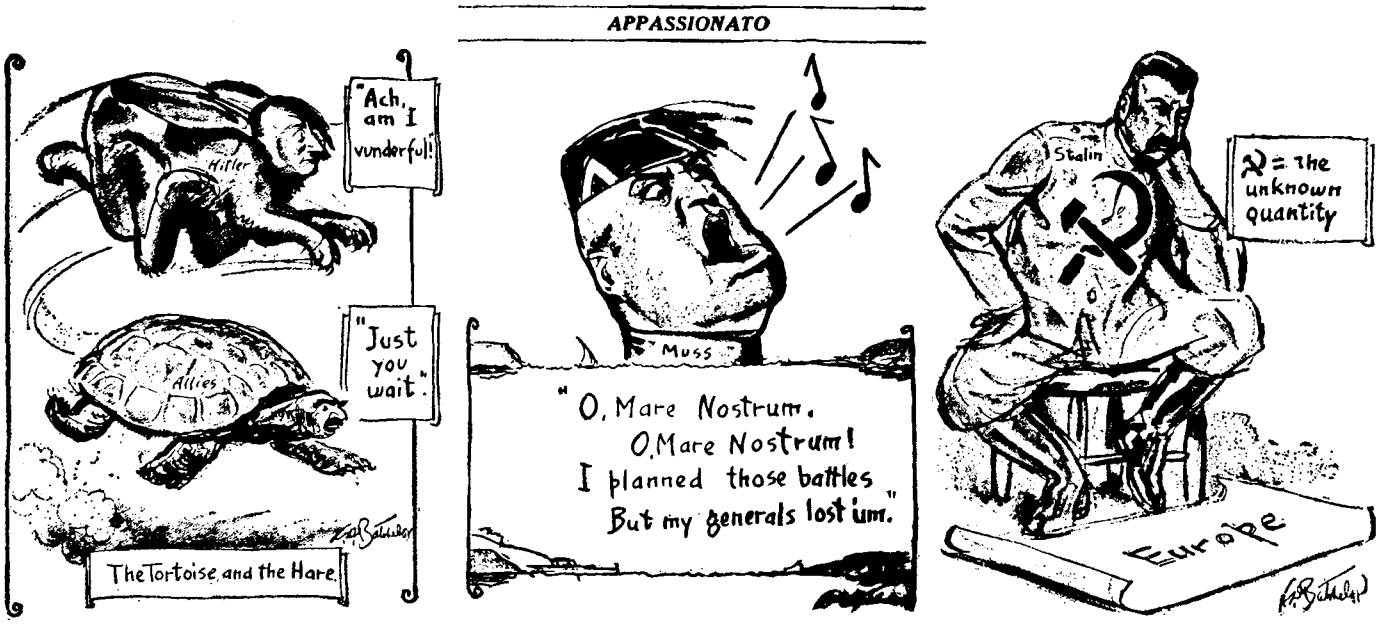
Soon the Court may require all citizens to carry signs saying, "Whatever I hear may be used against you," just in case they happen to overhear some plot in the making. After all, the only difference between a bug and an ear is a few transistors. Or maybe eyewitnesses to crimes will not be allowed to testify unless they notify the murderers, thieves, or muggers beforehand that they may be looking on.

Hating Lyndon and Loving It

What hate book do you like? Depends on whom you hate, of course, as the reviewers are proving these days in their indulgent acceptance of Robert Sherrill's anti-Johnson *The Accidental President* and (often simultaneous) dismissal of Ralph de Toledano's anti-Kennedy *RFK: The Man Who Would be President*. For Geoffrey A. Wolff, writing in *Book Week*, the Toledano is "listless, flinching . . . ill-organized [and] irresponsible. It is long on the minutiae of hearsay but shies away from putting anything in context." The Sherrill? "A wealth of quotations and anecdotes, most of which have been in common circulation for some time [certainly not as minutiae, surely not as hearsay], are advanced to reveal a martinet, overcome by lust for popularity yet incapable of showing generosity or affection for his colleagues . . ." etc. How to resolve the contradiction? Mr. Wolff tries it this way: "Like Sherrill [Toledano] begins his book with a thesaurus of damning quotes, but many of them are so irrelevant

BATCHELOR & THE FORTIES

The European Dictators



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Did Moscow Lose the Mideast War?

It begins to look as if the Israeli victory in the Near East will produce as serious miscalculations in the West as those which preceded the outbreak of war. These miscalculations are based on a misinterpretation of Soviet motives in arming the Arabs and deliberately increasing the tensions with Israel. It is assumed that Nasser, not the Soviet government, was in the driver's seat in building up the crisis, and that the Soviet objective was to defeat or weaken Israel and change the Middle Eastern military balance of power.

But what if the Soviet objective was not the defeat of Israel but control of the oil, through the weakening or overthrow of conservative Arab governments, and through an increasing Arab dependence on Soviet support? In that case, Israel was vital as the bone of contention which divided the Arabs from the West, committed to Israel's support. This Soviet purpose would be served either by the intensification of the Israeli-Arab cold war, through increased guerrilla activity and renewed blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, *or* by a hot war. Either would drain Israel's economy, cut off or reduce the flow of oil to the West, threaten the fragile British economy by temporary loss of oil revenues and the probable blockade of Suez, force the U.S. to the expense of oil deliveries from the Western Hemisphere for Europe and for the war in Vietnam.

This interpretation of Soviet motives does not require us to assume that Moscow expected the Israeli *blitzkrieg* victory, though apparently that was anticipated by the U.S. experts. But whether expected or not, Moscow is the principal beneficiary. True, there has been Arab criticism of the lack of Soviet intervention and a temporary loss of Soviet prestige, but the Arabs are more bitter, weaker, and more dependent on the Soviets than ever. On the other hand, *Israel is more isolated than ever.* The natural attempt of the Israelis to keep their conquests instead of withdrawing in return for U.S. or UN guarantees, will inevitably bring on a clash between Israel on the one side, and the U.S. and the UN on the other. *Thus, if the main Soviet target all along was to achieve at least negative control of the oil,* and to put economic pressure on the U.S. and Britain, what has happened is the greatest imaginable Soviet success, whether or not it developed according to plan.

Moreover, by identifying Britain and the U.S. as the Arabs' number one enemies, by supporting the Arab attempt to withhold oil from the U.S. and Britain but not from other European countries, and by praising General de Gaulle for his neutral posture, Moscow can kill several other birds with one stone. They may be able to increase the disunity of NATO and make Britain's entry into the Common Market even more difficult. And if the American and British oil companies are expropriated and the oil nationalized, French and Italian companies might be used for delivery of oil to Europe.

Above all, the battle against the pound, which de Gaulle has aided and abetted, may well become a lost cause. Aside from loss of oil revenues, every day that the Suez Canal remains closed the British lose $25,000 on every ship forced to sail around the Cape of Good Hope to do business with the Far or Middle East. This could mean the loss of many of those fragile British markets to Japanese competition.

Hussein may become at best a prisoner of Nasser, as a result of the entry of radical Arab armies into Jordan, of the uncontrollable Arab passions aroused by the present war, and of Israeli occupation of the richest Jordanian farmland, west of the Jordan River. Though Egypt and Syria will be weakened by the Israeli victories, the regimes will probably be saved from overthrow by Soviet economic, military, political and diplomatic aid. The Arabs blame their defeat on the false alibi that British and U.S. planes were responsible for the Israeli victory.

This whole development, which is the fruit of a policy pursued by Russia for ten years, illustrates the folly of the détente myth: that is, the wishful assumption of nearly all Western intellectuals and most Western governments that the Soviet Union has abandoned its aggressive aims toward the West. As a result of the complacency and blindness in the West which this assumption created, the Soviet Union has already gained at least negative control of the Middle Eastern oil and is now in a position to exercise a new kind of blackmail against Europe and, indirectly, against the United States in Vietnam. It has achieved this without even risking a direct military conflict with the U.S., as a result of U.S. and European miscalculations about Soviet motives.

It is true, of course, that the Arab countries need the oil revenues as much as the British do, but their bitterness over their defeat will make them willing to undertake great sacrifices to avenge themselves on their imagined Western foes. Moreover, the Soviets would probably subsidize the Arab states to maintain the threat of the oil blockade long enough to force the British to do almost anything the Soviets want to restore the flow of the desperately needed oil profits. The question now is whether the new Soviet veto power over Near Eastern oil will not lead to disastrous U.S. concessions on peace terms in Vietnam in order to end or reduce the war at any cost.

CHRISTOPHER EMMET

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and petty that they work in reverse. Many of them, also, are humorous badinage reported deadpan by the indignant de Toledano. . . . Scoop: want proof that Bobby is hateful? Hear this damnation out of Jackie Kennedy's mouth: 'I sometimes wish that Bobby, because he is so wonderful, had been an amoeba and then he could have mated with himself.'" But of course, as readers of the Toledano book will have known, the Jackie quote, among many others occurs in a balanced chapter headed "What Manner of Man?" not "Proof That Bobby Is Hateful." Humorous badinage reported deadpan? In the Sherrill book, Johnson is overheard telling speechwriter Douglass Cater to beef up a passage: "'You've got to get more PAY-thohs into it, hear? We gotta have more people livin' in wretched hovels and things like that. Doug, you've gotta get your hand *up* under the dress!'—accompanied by a descriptive gesture." And in the Sherrill book this bit of horseplay *is* proof that Johnson is hateful; for having committed it Johnson earns himself Sherrill's sneering sobriquet, "The Great Lover. Of mankind, of course."

The Accidental President is mainly a replay of J. Evetts Haley's polemic of 1964, *A Texan Looks at Lyndon,* orchestrated by left-wing bias and by the peculiarly inflamed zealousness with which the radical Left now promotes its cause against the man who was its champion only three short years ago. "We were misled," Sherrill says simply, as if Johnson's mastery of deceit, rather than the Left's gullibility, were responsible for *that.* And in his preface he brassily relates an interesting episode from those times which should have served to put his book in focus for even the most glassy-eyed:

"In the last Presidential campaign I was assigned by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee to review J. Evett [sic] Haley's book *A Texan Looks at Lyndon.* Somebody suggested to Cliff Carter at Democratic National Headquarters that he reproduce my review, as they were reproducing lots of pro-Johnson stuff at the time and mailing it out in bales. Carter's answer was, 'Hell, no. If you'll read that review closely you'll see that what he's saying is Johnson isn't *that* bad!'"

What follows is Another Texan Looks Again, and another bitter attack on the most hated President of modern times.

In the Next Issue

Censure and Senator Dodd
by Ferdinand Mount

Conservatives v. Liberals in Omaha: Report on the Young Republican Convention by Neal B. Freeman

THE NR POLL

Although the 1968 nominating conventions are more than a year away, the pollsters are already busy. On both sides of the political fence, voters appear to be coming on conservative: Bobby Kennedy according to the latest Harris poll, trails behind both Lyndon Johnson (45% to 55%) and Hubert Humphrey (49% to 51%) as a Presidential choice, and the American public opposes his stand on cessation of bombing in Vietnam, 2 to 1. On the Republican side, a recent Gallup survey shows George Romney declining—choosing between him and LBJ, the public split 50-50 in May, compared with 54-46 for Romney a month before.

Meanwhile, our very own poll of *NR* subscribers attitudes on the 1968 GOP candidate shows little change: they continue to prefer a conservative or at least, a middle-of-the-roader over an out-and-out liberal. Latest results follow, with last month's figures in parentheses:

1. I expect to vote for any Presidential candidate the Republican Party is likely to nominate in 1968, on the theory that any Republican will be better than anyone the Democrats are likely to name. 11% (11%)

2. I will vote for the Republican candidate in 1968 only if he is conservative. 17% (22%)

3. I will vote for the Republican candidate in 1968 if he is a conservative or at least a middle-of-the-roader, but not if he is a liberal. 44% (41%)

4. If the Republicans nominate a liberal in 1968, I will vote for a third-party candidate or write in a conservative candidate. 22% (21%)

5. If the Republicans nominate a liberal in 1968, I will vote for Johnson. 4% (5%)

6. If the Republicans nominate a liberal in 1968, I will not vote for a Presidential candidate. 2% (1%)

Of those who chose (2) (conservative only), 46% also chose a second response: 77%, (4); 11%, (5) and 12%, (6). Likewise, 25% of those who checked (3)—(conservative or middle-of-the-roader)—qualified their choice: 54% also checked (4); 23%, (5) and 23%, (6).

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ON THE RIGHT

Israel to the Rescue of the U. S.

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Perhaps we should sign that mutual defense pact with Israel—if only for our own self-protection. Let's face it, that was a blood-stirring show she put on against the Egyptian swaggerer with all his Communist tanks and airplanes and all his jingoistic rodomontade. One can hardly imagine a better military machine to help us out of a jam than Israel's.

Buckley

There is courage, tenacity, single - mindedness, skill—all of them put to essentially non - imperialist uses, if you grant the legitimacy of the Balfour Declaration, which at this stage you might just as well do.

Nasser declared that the Mideast was too small an area for the Arabs and for the Israelis, to which the Israelis' only response—always assuming they were not prepared neatly to dismantle their nation and march into the sea—was that under the circumstances, the Arabs would have to move over. After 48 hours of an Israeli blitzkrieg, the Arab braves stopped war-dancing long enough to discover that they were surrounded by Israelis, and that their great brothers in the Soviet Union were off at the United Nations jawing about ceasefires, and never mind the old borders, the new ones would be perfectly satisfactory.

Balance of Power Shattered

Not only might Israel be of great military help to the United States in any future emergency: there is absolutely no limit to the psychological help she can be. Who else but Israel could have turned our doviest doves into tiger sharks? Who but Israel could, for instance, have persuaded Dwight Macdonald, that eminent pacifist who walks out of the room rather than listen to Hubert Humphrey because Hubert Humphrey is committed to the proposition that the United States has to help small nations around the world when threatened by aggression: who else but Israel could have transformed Macdonald into the very image of Long John Silver, patch over his eye, dagger between his teeth, napalm grenades in his rucksack, boarding the enemy's ship shouting lustfully Murder! Loot! Rapine! Come one, come all!

It isn't only Macdonald. It is the whole clutch of them, who could not care less if it had been the South Vietnamese whose territory was threatened, or whose ports were closed.

A single advertisement sponsored by the "Americans for Democracy in the Middle East," whose text I myself heartily endorse, is signed by Theodore Draper, critic of LBJ; Michael Harrington, a pacifist of sorts; Robert Heilbroner, the economist and critic of LBJ; Irving Howe, the critic and editor of *Dissent,* which is to the American Left what the John Birch Society's *American Opinion* is to the American Right; H. Stuart Hughes, who loveth man so much that he would have had the U.S. disarm unilaterally years ago—leaving us, Sir Stuart, with what means of implementing the action you call for now in Israel?; Norman Podhoretz of *Commentary,* Joe Rauh of the ADA, and so forth and so on.

Any nation with the strength to compel such men as these to start talking in terms of international obligations, the demands of honor, the necessity for the use of force thousands of miles from home, is a priceless national asset, quite apart from the sentimental value of the country Indeed, one should consider giving to Israel a few square miles of territory in South Vietnam, in West Berlin, in the Straits of Formosa, and at other likely pressure points where East and West are likely to meet on unfriendly terms.

The big question of course is what will have happened to the bridge-building program with the Soviet Union. The balance of power in the Mideast has been shattered. It is unfortunately true that the stunning victories of the Israelis are not likely to lead to any strategic tranquility. Israel will not settle for the old frontiers, and why indeed should she so long as the Arab determination persists to wipe out the Israeli state? Why not frontiers more easily defended in tomorrow's war? The Arabs will be only temporarily chastened. The battle-cry against Israel—that "foreign body" in the Arabic system—will be as galvanizing as ever, probably the single reliable means of effecting unity among a people atomized by myriad differences.

USSR Very Much in Picture

New frontiers take years and years to consolidate, and during those years the Soviet Union will see itself as de facto defender of the Arab position, the U.S. as de facto defender of the Israeli position, though both sides will feign a certain neutrality and, even, urge restraint upon their protégés. But the fact that the area is in flux will greatly interfere with that tri-continental serenity which has been advertised as the *mise en scène* for a true détente between East and West, the great stage for what has been described as the big kissing conference LBJ wanted to put on with the Soviet Union via trade, treaties, disarmament and the like. Johnson's difficulties with Russia will now increase. But for a while, anyhow, he has most of the critics of our policy in Vietnam on the run.

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The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM

The Battle and the War

The central present fact in the Middle East is, of course, Israel's smashing military victory. For the moment this takes precedence over issues of legality, diplomacy, economics and history, not to speak of morality. Trial by combat is the ultimate court of appeal in international politics, and Israel has won this trial.

Burnham

Cairo and Damascus say that American and British aircraft helped the Israelis. Our commentators explain that the Arab leaders cooked up the charge to excuse shameful defeat by despised Jews. The ignorant and passionate Arab masses (we are told) are likely to believe this face-saving lie.

Washington and London are doubtless telling the truth in their official denials. But false as the charge may be in literal significance, it has a fair amount of what Marxists call "historical truth," and this, rather than mere ignorance and passion, is why it will continue to be widely believed in the Arab nations. If the Americans and British did not provide tactical air cover for Israel's June 5 strike, they furnished the strategic cover without which the Israeli forces could not have moved, and the historical, political and economic cover without which Israel's national existence and progress would have been impossible.

With respect to Arab-Zionist and, subsequently, Arab-Israeli disputes, Britain and America have not been neutral; they have been—not invariably, but on net—pro-Zionist and pro-Israel. This is the fact, and the Arabs, including the Arab masses, know it to be a fact. (Imagine the reaction if it had been Egypt that attacked the *Liberty*.)

"The Arab view is quite simple," writes an Arab correspondent to the *Economist* (June 3) . . . "to the West, creating Israel, protecting it, and providing it with arms, to ensure its viability, is an act prompted by the sense of guilt caused by centuries of persecution of the Jews in Europe. That is why 'the West is morally committed to Israel's preservation' (*Econ.*, May 27). The Arabs wonder, however, and quite rightly, why they should be the high price for a crime not committed by themselves. . . .

Your Rights and Mine

"Everybody talks about the 'rights' of Israel. But nobody even remembers the rights of the Arabs, specially the Palestinian Arabs, who lost their lands to become perpetual refugees. . . .

"The Arabs know, for a fact, that 'the Western powers employ double standards in their attitude toward Israel and toward themselves' (*Econ.*) If an aggressive act is committed by Israel it is forgiven by the West, either because it is a 'retaliation' or because it is a 'fait accompli'. . . .

"Those who believe that Russia has instigated the latest crisis in the Middle East are ignorant of what is going on in that region."

Israel won a smashing victory, in the process wrecking the surrounding armies, and therefore is today in a local power position vastly improved over last month's. "Moscow has lost because it backed the wrong horse" (James Reston, June 11). Because we are and are known to be backers of Israel, Israel's "victory is of strategic benefit to us. . . . American prestige has risen" (C. L. Sulzberger, June 11). The immediate results are thus highly favorable. But this June's fighting has been only a battle in the Middle East war that is in turn only a continuing campaign in the global conflict. As Hannibal found out, winning battles not merely fails to guarantee winning the war; the consequences of winning battles may sometimes lose the war

Unless we believe that the Jews are going to create a Middle East empire in the Persian and Ottoman mode, i should be clear that the decisive problem of the Middle East is in the long run the Arabs, not Israel. It would be imprudent to slip into the racis attitude toward Arabs that has been here and there sounded in the week just past. The people that carried the crescent of Islam from the Arabian desert to the Pyrenees, to India, th isles of the South Seas and the head waters of the Nile, who gave the Wes the symbols and concepts of th mathematics that is the core of ou science and transmitted the learnin of the Greeks to our Schoolmen, i not to be written off because thei soldiers acted like slobs in an episodi batttle.

The crux of our Middle East strategy is inevitably our policy toward the Arab nations. There cannot be a successful American policy toward th Arab nations if Israel occupies a special place in our official books. We say the Arabs must forget the past and accept the fact of Israel's existence as a nation. Very well. Then we mus forget the past and accept the fac that Israel is only one Middle Eastern nation among the others, to be judged and treated according to the same standards we apply to all the others

Objective Realities

Among our professionals—in the State Department and the Pentagon—there have always been many who consider Middle East realities objectively, in terms of the facts and our own national interests. They do fairly well when given a chance, but the pressures of *our* passionate, if no ignorant, masses on our elective leaders frequently negate the professional's judgment. The Arab nations are not Communist; they keep their Communists in jail. From short-sighted and reckless opportunism, some o them have allowed themselves to b used by the Soviet Union. These will never be won from Moscow by appeasement—Arab history leaves n doubt on that point. But firmnes won't get very far, either, unless it i applied, and seen to be applied, in the Roman manner, without frenzy fear or favor.

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Footnote on Suez and Vietnam

Conversation with Dulles

LOUIS JEFFERSON

I spent nearly five years on assignment to the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, as his Personal Security Aide. During his last three years in office I was rarely away from him. We logged something over 300,000 miles together and I got to know him well. In the words of his widow: "Lou, you knew him better than most."

During those years with Dulles, I not only witnessed his participation in many of the events and decisions which have shaped our times, but had the opportunity to talk with him, often in unguarded moments, about his private views and deepest feelings. One of the most unusual of those conversations occurred one night over a drink in a small hotel room in Georgia.

History has been described as a series of long, dull intervals between great dramatic moments, but by February of 1957 the reverse was becoming more and more true. The scene of most immediate crisis then was around Suez. President Eisenhower, still not fully recovered from his first heart attack, was resting at Treasury Secretary George Humphrey's plantation and shooting preserve near Thomasville, Georgia. One winter-gripped Washington evening, when the need for Presidential counsel and decision on Suez was urgent, I flew down to Thomasville with Dulles to see the President. Our then Ambassador to the UN, Henry Cabot Lodge, accompanied him.

There was a chill in the air, even as far south as Thomasville, but we were whisked out to Humphrey's plantation in a well-warmed limousine. Eisenhower was reportedly playing bridge when we arrived, but quickly closeted himself with his Secretary of State and Ambassador to the United Nations.

After the talk with the President, we went into Thomasville to spend the night at a place improbably called the Three Toms Inn. I had a bottle of Dulles' favorite whiskey — Old Overholt rye—in my brief case (along with Top Secret—"Eyes Only for the Secretary" — papers, ammunition, drafting pads, assorted pills, a blackjack, phone directories, and the Secretary's favorite detective stories). Knowing that he was not just tired, but tense and troubled over Suez, I suggested a nightcap.

Sitting on the edge of a squeaking old bed in the plain, but sanitized and quite functional, room which had been assigned to him in the Three Toms, coatless and tieless, sipping Pennsylvania rye on the rocks, trying to break the hard combination of tension and fatigue, the patrician Foster Dulles peered at me that night through his heavy spectacles, and expounded pent-up feelings about the constant application required to keep peace.

Dulles had an aura of power about him. For most of his adult life he had been a man of great affairs and a participant in great events, living in the rarefied atmosphere of those whose everyday work has its effect on large numbers of people. It was a world of richly paneled partners' rooms, of elegant private clubs with the hallmark of enormously expensive simplicity, of town houses and country homes, a world of certainty, confidence and continuity. But the aura took on a different hue that night in Georgia.

Tough Fatalism Sustained Dulles

I was startled. With his white hair and sagging gothic features, Dulles looked like some ancient patriarch in modern shirtsleeves. His conversation was filled with both the tough fatalism which so often sustained him, and his deep conviction that the struggle for peace was just that, a struggle. His voice was gravelly, with a touch of the pulpit in it, as the words came slowly out. There was a noticeable twitch in his eyes, but they were bright. I recall wondering in one of those odd mental flashes if John Calvin drank rye whiskey.

Just a little more than two months after his own first cancer operation, Dulles was far more preoccupied that night with the President's health than his own. He talked about how the President needed rest—how press secretary Jim Hagerty and everyone around the President told him this. He said that that made it tougher for him because he had to be very careful about taking to the President only matters which had to have the President's attention, or a Presidential decision, but that he welcomed it in a way. He mentioned Vice President Nixon's role during the period of the President's first heart attack, and said that he thought that Nixon had "handled himself very well." He rambled a bit, mentioning how hard it was to "go against old allies and dear friends" over Suez, and then went back to President Eisenhower's health. He said that Walter Lippmann "raises the President's blood pressure" but that, his eyes lighting up momentarily, he had told the President to "let the Secretary of State do the reading of Walter Lippmann." He kept going back to the President's need for rest. His feeling for Mr. Eisenhower was deep, and very genuine.

I mentioned that the President *was* resting at Secretary Humphrey's plantation, and that the Secretary of State needed some rest too. Dulles shrugged this off as a statement of no consequence. He crouched forward and began stirring his nearly empty glass with his forefinger. He was silent for a while. Then he said that many people did not understand his position on Suez, but that this had been true in other areas, that he had not become Secretary of State to seek public acclaim, and that we just could not "condemn aggression in one area and condone it in another." This led him into the difficulties of "waging peace" and how sometimes you had to "take chances to get peace."

After another moment or two of silence, he handed me his glass, asking me for a light one. I poured another drink and, referring to his remark about taking chances to get peace, asked him if we had really been at what had been termed the brink of war over Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) in 1954. He thought for a moment, and then

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sort of reared back on the funny old bed and said: "Well, the important thing was that we kept the pressure on the Communists—they were never altogether sure just what we might do, or how far we might go. They leaned, I think, to the view that we were bound to do more than we were probably prepared to do. I guess you might call that a 'brink.' But if they had thought we would do less than we were prepared to do, they might have pushed for more, or all of Vietnam. That would have really been dangerous. It could have meant war for us, war of unpredictable proportions."

I pointed out that we had not intervened at the crucial battle between the French and Ho Chi Minh at Dienbienphu, and that the war had resulted in the Communists' taking over part of Vietnam.

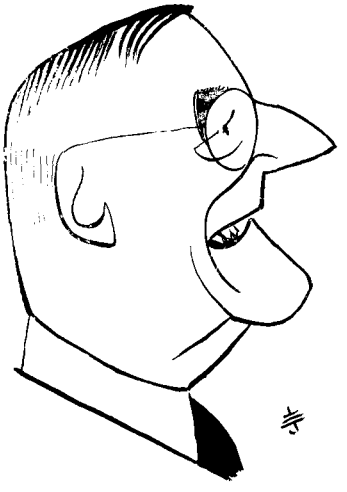
"Yes," Dulles replied, "they [the Communists] were all out for victory at Dienbienphu. They were totally committed there. And when it was over, they had finished off the French. But they were never quite sure how far they could go past that, just what would bring the United States in, short of overt Red Chinese intervention, which they knew would bring us in *in force*. [This was a recurrent theme with Dulles.] All this contributed I think to limiting their goals and a better settlement at the Geneva negotiations than many expected."

I mentioned the fact that the United States had not been a party to the Geneva agreements to partition Vietnam, and he came back quickly: "I did not feel that the United States should be a party to turning over any territory to the Communists. But our presence was felt in those negotiations."

I then asked him just how far he had really been prepared to go to save Dienbienphu and hopefully all of Vietnam. Stirring his drink slowly with his forefinger, his voice strident but his words measured, he said: "Well, in spite of French demands and others, I was never committed in my own mind to what might be termed unilateral intervention on the ground. It would have had to have been massive to be effective, and I did not feel that we could afford to become tied down alone in a ground war on the great land mass of Asia. The question was whether anything else —an air strike—would do any good."

He paused for a moment. The old radiator was sputtering and the room seemed very hot. His heavy head slouched slightly forward, his craggy features showing the strains of office, his eyes still twitching but alight with interest, as he thought back from Suez to an earlier crisis, and then went on: "I don't believe an air strike would have saved the French position. Even if it had, it might have created a new, and for us even worse situation. After all, the French legacy to those people was one of colonialism. Whatever we did, I felt that we must act in concert with allies other than the French. We just could not put ourselves in the position of fighting for French colonialism, or of trying to replace it with some brand of our own. That, to my mind, would have been as bad as a Communist takeover of the whole country."

With his then very recent difficulties with Anthony Eden and the



John Foster Dulles

British over Suez in mind, I asked him if he felt Eden and his British colleagues had betrayed him when, after he thought they had agreed to "united action" at Dienbienphu, they refused to participate and insisted on going to the Geneva conference table first.

The thing that had worried him about Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole, he said, and still worried him, was that the "Red Chinese will feel they have to go that way. Unless we can make it unattractive for them, it will keep drawing them like a magnet. They have swallowed a large bit. We must not allow them to feed on that area any more."

"The Chinese, you know," he continued, "have ancient skills in diplomacy and negotiation. They are skilful in reading an adversary's intentions. They have had thousands of years' experience, and are always looking for signs and signals. I remember when I was out in China in 1938 and talked to Chiang Kai-shek and I felt that he wanted to talk to me because I represented an opportunity to test the wind in the United States—to get some signals. We must be very careful with the Red Chinese that they get the right signals."

Dulles on SEATO

The steam-heated room had become stuffy. I opened the window a crack, and indicated that I thought that I had better leave and let him get to bed. He waved me down, saying, "Finish your drink first."

I sat down again and recalled earlier conversations we had had on his theories on the need for "mechanisms for peaceful change" so that we could "institutionalize peace." Noting that he had been credited as being the architect of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which had grown out of the Indochinese crisis, and that some observers had described it as being merely a "symptom of Dulles' 'pactomania,' " I asked him if such an organization could do much else than give some support to the status quo?

He chuckled from way down deep in his throat, as if he was gargling, and, after a long pause, said: "Well, an organization like SEATO can give us a mechanism which we did not have, say, at Dienbienphu. That situation was certainly a contest to effect change, and it was anything but peaceful. But a treaty such as SEATO gives us a basis to act—and, unless we give them [the Communists] reason to *question* our commitment, it serves notice that we will act. This belief in your will to act, whether it's one country or a whole alliance, is central. It can mean the difference between peace and war, and save you some hard decisions such as the one Truman had to make over Korea when the enemy misjudged our intentions."

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Letter from Rochester

The FIGHT-Kodak Fight

DOROTHY LIVADAS

The show Saul Alinsky has put on in Rochester unfolded at the annual stockholders meeting of Eastman Kodak. The company may be said to symbolize Rochester, a prosperous, somewhat smug upstate New York community. Leading characters were a volatile Negro, the Reverend Franklin Delano Roosevelt Florence, head of FIGHT (which is Alinsky's road company in Rochester), and the board chairman of Kodak, soft-spoken William S. Vaughn.

The suspense revolved around a contract FIGHT had signed with Kodak, which the latter had repudiated. Minister Florence, accompanied by several busloads of demonstrators carrying signs such as "Kodak Snaps its Shutter on the Ghetto," had come to humiliate Kodak management before its stockholders.

No Contract

The confrontation with Kodak fizzled when, instead of an argument, Kodak gave Florence an explanation as to why it had reneged on the contract a well-meaning but unauthorized vice president had signed with FIGHT agreeing to hire and train 600 hard-core unemployed.

The board chairman explained that no one had been "authorized to commit the company in any way to hire a specified number of people over an extended period of time . . . nor to commit the company to work only with one organization." In short, the vice president had erred. Kodak was sorry, but there was no contract.

Kodak is not anti-Negro. Nor has it refused to hire Negroes. In fact about 1,400 of its 40,000 employees are Negroes—and quite a few hold managerial posts.

Rochester, according to a recent AP report, has around 35,000 Negroes, about one-tenth of the city population. Almost half have migrated there in the last six years. What brought them to Rochester was the city's reputation as a place where jobs and opportunities are greater than almost anywhere else in the nation. It is known as a good place for Negroes. While white employment, for example, has risen 11 per cent since 1966, Negro employment is up 43 per cent. Of the city's roughly 5,000 unemployed, three-fifths are white.

Why, then, has Alinsky found a power base there? How come FIGHT? (FIGHT is the Negro organization he set up there two years ago at the invitation of members of the Board of Urban Ministry of the Rochester Area Council of Churches, to the tune of $100,000.)

Nobody has a satisfactory answer. Residents want no repeat of the bloody, shattering riots of 1964. Just recently some fifty banded to form a non-profit, non-partisan corporation known as Rochester Jobs, Inc. Kodak is a participant. Their aim is to train and hire 1,500 hard-core unemployed. Even FIGHT has praised them.

Obviously the starry-eyed churchmen who hired Alinsky wanted a demonstration of instant racial integration—Alinsky style. What they got culminated in the FIGHT-Kodak fracas.

Those with ringside seats smile ruefully when they reflect on the image of Rochester some news media created. At least one national television newscaster presented Minister Florence as a plucky little Negro who had been badly pushed around by big, powerful, rich, greedy, unfeeling Kodak.

A private poll published by the city's morning newspaper recently revealed that residents were indeed involved in the FIGHT-Kodak fracas, as voluble bystanders. Asked whether Alinsky (FIGHT) had improved the situation of Negroes living in the Rochester area, made it worse, or not affected it, this is what they replied: 61.5 per cent said worse; 14.5 per cent found no effect; and 13.5 per cent just didn't know. To the question as to whether FIGHT had helped or harmed relations between Negroes and whites, an overwhelming majority said—harmed. Sixty-nine per cent, in fact! Of the rest, 14.5 per cent didn't know and 8 per cent felt it had done neither.

Why, then, is FIGHT in Rochester? The average citizen has repudiated it and backed Kodak. It has been assailed by a Negro youth organization called Satan's Disciples. Disillusioned by the inept performance against Kodak, these young men proposed to take over FIGHT's job.

Minister Florence now threatens a vast confrontation in July of Kodak by people from ghettos across the country. "Racial war has been declared on black communities by Kodak," Florence says. "If it's war they want, war they'll get."

FIGHT: How Many?

Nobody will say categorically how many Negroes FIGHT really represents (and FIGHT won't tell) but it is a safe assumption that most Rochester Negroes want no part of FIGHT. Even the promise of Stokely Carmichael to kick off a national boycott against Kodak failed to produce much enthusiasm. Nor have Kodak stockholders lost any sleep worrying about their holdings.

Nevertheless, thoughtful Negroes and whites alike *are* troubled by Minister Florence's threats. They are alarmed by his promise to make the city the cynosure of the civil rights movement this summer and bring from 5,000 to 10,000 "outsiders" in July to march in a candlelight procession up and down State Street.

Some local ministers cheer FIGHT's plan to bring about a holocaust. But most Negroes and whites in Rochester aren't cheering. Nobody has been lulled into a false sense of security because FIGHT has been a failure in other cities.

Those of a philosophical bent may well muse over the question: How egregious can any man become? In Alinsky one sees a man who has made a profession of igniting racial fires, who has capitalized on the plight of the downtrodden and made a "hero" of himself while exploiting their misery.

Even now, some ministers in Rochester are prodding their sheep pretty hard. They need another $35,000 to extend Alinsky's contract through a third year.

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The English and the Vietnam War

A U.S. graduate student reports the British press is more pro-American than we are led to suppose. But there, as here, beware the Groves of Academe

JAMES FLETCHER

I. The Press

British, and indeed European, opinion on Vietnam seems to run in cycles. During the spring and summer, when protesters can march without getting either cold or very wet, discontent runs high, or seems to. During the winter, however, when the protesters go indoors and marches become teach-ins, the American cause has a better time of it.

Theoretically we should now be on another downward cycle. The Easter and May 1 demonstrations by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) began the spring protests. But an impersonation of the Queen in Trafalgar Square on May Day has alienated from the CND and the Committee of 100 a large segment of public opinion that cares little about Vietnam, one way or the other, but takes offense at the malicious impersonation of a nonpolitical and much-admired sovereign. And there have been other favorable signs in the battle for public opinion.

An appeal in the *Sunday Telegraph* by Deputy Editor Peregrine Worsthorne for the commitment of British troops to Vietnam received a respectful reading and elicited a sizable number of favorable letters. Worsthorne argues both on moral grounds (see excerpt) and in terms of *Realpolitik*. Britain would benefit from a commitment of troops to Vietnam, he asserts, both by getting a "most favored nation" trading relationship (possibly with an Atlantic-Pacific free trade area including Canada, Australia and New Zealand) and by getting a share in the next important series of nuclear weapons. The next step will be the raising of the question by a member of one or the other of the political parties, possibly by a Conservative backbencher.

The offensive in the press clearly lies with the supporters of American policy, and opponents are being forced to counter a positive argument (for sending troops) rather than being given the opportunity to battle on their own grounds of stopping the bombing or dissociating Britain from American policy.

Worsthorne's appeal has its origins in a letter to the *Times* from Kingsley Amis, novelists John Braine and Simon Raven, columnist Bernard Levin, Worsthorne, and others. Designed to counter the spate of newspaper advertisements and letters from left-wing intellectuals, the Amis-

THE BRITISH SPEAK

(The British Foreign Secretary replying to hostile questioning in the House of Commons about the reported shelling of a British ship by American planes. Italics indicate emphasis.)

I am aware of *press reports*, all apparently relying on *North Vietnamese* sources, that the *S.S. Dartford*, which flies the British flag, is *registered and owned* in Hong Kong, and is currently being operated on charter to *Chinese* interests, has been struck by *bullets* in Haiphong harbor. . . . Only a short time ago, a British ship was mined and nearly sunk in Saigon harbor by a mine placed there by the North Vietnamese. It is interesting to note that no one in the House asked me a question about that. [Cheers.]

Foreign Secretary George Brown,
April 27, 1967

So we come to the second general direction in which British policy could move—towards positive military involvement in Vietnam. My own view is that this is desirable on all grounds, because it seems to me a just and necessary war. . . .

British participation . . . might well prove one of those seminal events which dramatically altered American thinking, rather like the Communization of Czechoslovakia in 1947, which produced the Marshall Plan. . . .

The truth is that neither of the political parties has put the case for sending troops to Vietnam in its true colors. Both have allowed the very substantial potential advantages of such a move to be lost sight of in a cloud of sentimental antiwar moralizing.

Peregrine Worsthorne,
Sunday Telegraph,
April 23, 1967

. . . There was unanimity [at the world newspapers conference sponsored by the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* in Kyoto] that a prompt American withdrawal would be calamitous and was unthinkable. . . .

[Alastair] Hetherington [editor of the *Guardian*] admitted that his South Vietnam visit had left him no longer quite sure that the Americans ought to leave Asia to the Asians, and cease propping up helpless regimes. He had been impressed by the civil efforts, and the extension of the areas of security. He reckoned that for more than half of the South Vietnamese people the likeliest way to a peaceful life lay in "the Americans completing

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Braine-et al. letter has stirred a hornets' nest of opposition. It has also indicated the existence of a broad-based and intellectually respectable body of opinion supporting American policy. (Bernard Levin, for example, commonly writes in the left-wing *New Statesman* and can hardly be called an arch-conservative.) Fortunately, the signatories have kept the struggle up, answering their critics, supporting the sending of British troops, and raising new issues themselves. They seem to have encouraged other hitherto timid supporters of American policy to join the fray. London has recently seen the spectacle of a letter in the *Times* from a Labor MP (see excerpt) supporting the American position and challenging critics of the bombing policy. Although Foreign Secretary George Brown has been ardent and more effective than his predecessor Michael Stewart in enunciating government support for the U.S., the Labor rank-and-file has hitherto been either hostile or silent.

A solid base of journalistic support for the allied war effort forms an effective background against which the new backers of American policy can operate. The *Economist*, much respected middle-of-the-road weekly, has supported the American stance consistently and argued its case tellingly. American policy finds much support in the popular press also, the *Daily Mail* being a good example. The *Times* says little about Vietnam, but it has made cogent comments about anti-Americanism in Europe (see excerpt). The *New Statesman* and the *Observer* remain editorially hostile, the *Spectator* vacillates (though supplying excellent reviews of books on the Vietnam war by P. J. Honey), and the *Daily Telegraph* consistently supports American positions.

The *Guardian*'s editorial policy wanders hither and yon, mostly anti-American but sometimes surprisingly sympathetic. The excellent *Guardian* foreign correspondent Michael Wall

OUT ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

their military operations."

He saw new distinctions in escalation. He was against the bombing of the North, but he felt it would be justifiable for the Americans to bring in 200,000 or 300,000 more troops to extend security and prevent Vietcong hit-and-run raids.

Kyoto dispatch, *Times*,
May 8, 1967

For all the reservations about it, Sunday's voting [the South Vietnamese autumn election] did demonstrate two things. The first is that the government is able to administer a much larger part of the country than most people realized it could. . . . The second important thing about Sunday's vote is that, of the South Vietnamese who were in a position to choose between voting and not voting, over four-fifths did vote (and a lot of them probably spent Sunday night explaining why to the Vietcong). . . . There was a "floating electorate"—20 or 30 per cent of those registered, at a guess—made up of hesitators who could have decided to stay at home if they wanted to as an antigovernment gesture. They were the difference between, say, a 50 or 60 per cent poll—the docile obeyers of orders—and an 80 or 90 per cent one. In the event the majority of this floating electorate seems to have turned out. This is the advantage of risking even a semi-free election. . . . When a government loosens the screws enough to leave the size of the turnout genuinely in doubt—as Sunday's turnout in South Vietnam was, with the Vietcong and the Buddhist leaders for different reasons trying to whittle it down—an 80 per cent vote makes the sceptics sit up and take notice.

Economist
Sept. 12, 1966

Lee [Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew] implied that if the British moved out of Singapore, he would have to try to get the Americans to take their place. The best thing, he said, would be to keep things as they are, and the second best to share the British commitment with other Commonwealth countries. . . .

The United States, [the Tengku of Malaysia] went on, felt very strongly that Southeast Asia should be defended against Communist forces that want to dominate all of Asia and the world.

Robert Stephens, dispatch
from Singapore, Kuala Lumpur
Observer,
Mar. 11, 1967

Is it rational to seize upon bombing for special moral censure? For I cannot see why bombing legitimate strategic targets should be considered more morally reprehensible, more despicable and cowardly than tossing a bomb into a bus or chopping off the head of a village headman. . . .

Alan Lee Williams,
in a letter to the *Times*,
April 8, 1967

. . . The sort of feelings that have been using Mr. Humphrey as a target existed before the Vietnam war had started and will go on after it has stopped. Anti-Americanism is a phenomenon of our times. . . .

When all the explanations have been given there still remains the unpleasant fact that there is a core of anti-Americanism as bitter and irrational as anti-Semitism . . . The fact that the Americans are strong and able to look after themselves while the Jews were largely defenseless does not alter the analogy. Daubing a statue of George Washington and breaking windows of the American Express Company are not signs of political protest but of racial intolerance.

Leading editorial in the *Times*,
April 10, 1967

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has repeatedly found the American involvement to be justified by the facts. On February 20 he wrote from Bangkok: "Thailand will never be free of internal troubles as long as the Americans are there, yet without them could Thailand remain free at all?"

All segments of the press acknowledged that Hanoi's release of correspondence between President Ho and President Johnson was foolish and provided an impressive aid to American policy. London observers believe that Hanoi's intention was to embarrass President Johnson during the Guam meeting by releasing a peace feeler of which President Ky knew nothing. But Ky had been informed of the correspondence and Hanoi's public relations exercise failed dismally, in Britain and throughout Western Europe.

President Ky's showing in Guam, Vice President Humphrey's composure under hostile questioning in the House of Commons, and General Westmoreland's speech to Congress have all helped the American cause. Supporters of the allied Vietnam policy may well greet the summer of 1967 as a particularly auspicious one. The continuing battle for public opinion seems more promising than it did either in 1965 or 1966. On one turbulent home front, at least, things are going well.

II. The Teach-Ins

"I'm not going to tell you how I went to Hanoi and had tea for two-and-a-half hours with President Ho Chi Minh." Such an opening, familiar as it is on the British teach-in circuit, should not be taken as a statement of fact. Things are seldom as they seem in the swirl of debates, and of course Mrs. Verdun Perl, a Canadian-born supporter of the Vietcong, *did* tell us how she had been to Hanoi and had tea for two-and-a-half hours with Ho. I had to begin my reply to Mrs. Perl apologetically and to admit that I had never had tea with *anyone* for two-and-a-half hours. But then Mrs. Perl is a veteran, and I am, compared to her, a novice. The encounter was in March. It was her 127th talk on Vietnam.

The collapse of the home front plays a large part in the Mao-Giap theory of warfare, and the battle against disintegration engages numerous Americans abroad. In Britain most of the Americans who defend the allied position on South Vietnam are enlisted by the Speakers Bureau of the United States Information Service. For the most part they are unpaid amateurs; embassy officials participate only in carefully selected meetings where the danger of abrasive encounter is slight. The policy is a sensible one. In the heat of debate, the statement by an unaffiliated academic can do no damage; the United States Government is not responsible for what he says. Nor, for that matter, is the speaker bound to agree with every nuance of government policy on Vietnam.

Like many British-based supporters of the American position in Vietnam, I had to make a fundamental decision about participating in debates and teach-ins. For the most part, the confrontations are organized by opponents of American policy and the pro-American speaker must contend with a number of built-in disadvantages.

An impartial observer would note a consistent group of difficulties that pro-American speakers encounter in teach-ins and debates. These include the following: 1) a lopsided balance of speakers in favor of those opposing the American involvement, the pretense being that "all shades of opinion" are invited and that the variations on the far Left are legion; 2) a scheduling of speakers so that an anti-American spokesman has the last word, a ploy which sometimes takes the form of choosing an elderly, high-ranking academic to sum up the debate, the summary invariably being anti-American and full of generalizations; 3) a hostile chairman, who interrupts pro-American speakers to disagree rather than maintaining impartiality; 4) audiences that are already committed and more interested in demonstration than debate; 5) hostile questioners whose inquiries are so similar across the country that one wonders if there is a set list provided by one or another of the leftist "peace" organizations; 6) a full supply of literature against American involvement in the war, sometimes distributed during the meeting.

It is difficult to tell from the terms of reference of a debate whether such difficulties will materialize or whether the debate (or teach-in) will be straightforward. Usually the meetings organized by civic affairs groups in the smaller cities are scrupulously impartial. But university meetings and even some secondary school

Times Letter, Jan. 21, 1967

Sir—American conduct of the war in Vietnam has been subjected to a good deal of criticism. Much of it is, doubtless, cogent—for to make political and military mistakes is the unavoidable fate of a Government, particularly a democratic one, in such circumstances.

But much of it is, almost ostentatiously, malicious and no more; much of it represents the impact of suspect information upon uncritical minds; and much of it, coming from conformist protesters, accords better with emotional habit than with any real concern for either truth or humanity.

At the moment, when there is this revival of anti-American propaganda in the matter, the undersigned, acquaintances without organization or secretariat, but knowing that they speak for a much larger body of opinion, feel that it is high time to call a halt. The organizers of and participators in this vast, though ill-aimed, propaganda barrage should not deceive themselves into imagining that they have silenced the vocies of reason.

When all the lesser issues are cleared away, whose side are we on? Our answer must be that as in Korea and Berlin, and as under previous Presidents and Prime Ministers, we unequivocally support America and her allies from the Commonwealth and Asia. From the President, in his difficult situation, to the GI fighting in the jungle, they have the respect and goodwill, here as elsewhere, of many more than might be imagined from a mere count of decibels.

Kingsley Amis, John Braine, Robert Conquest, Edmund Crispin, Iain Hamilton, Anthony Hartley, Bernard Levin, Simon Raven, David Rees, Peregrine Worsthorne.

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groups are likely to be more difficult than the letters requesting speakers would indicate. Sometimes, for example, a student union may hold a meeting that is ostensibly fair but in fact heavily unbalanced. At a teach-in in Liverpool the balance against the American position was twelve to three, though the façade of impartiality was maintained.

Given varying combinations of disadvantages, should the pro-American speaker participate? The negative argument is strong: to participate is to allow the opponent to choose his own ground and the sanction of seeming fairness may be given to his meeting. I think the positive argument is stronger. I have chosen to participate and usually I have felt the decision was the right one.

Rigged Meetings Look It

A pro-American speaker has a few chance advantages, the accidental results of his disadvantages. A rigged meeting is often seen to be rigged. If the balance is too decisively askew, then impartial members of the audience usually recognize the fact and support the underdog. The sympathy one gains as an underdog may seem a small prize but it is important. The Left, especially the pro-Hanoi Left, cultivates the underdog psychology for itself. It fills the papers with letters about being an unheard, even persecuted minority. At its meetings leftists are surely not unheard and they themselves are the persecutors.

On one occasion I was in Reading, at a teach-in sponsored by the Reading Group for Peace in Vietnam. It was the one teach-in in which I have participated that has had a pro-American majority (three of us, two opponents); I later found out that the situation was accidental. A pro-American speaker had volunteered at the last moment and replaced a pro-Hanoi speaker who had to cancel, thus reversing a scheduled three-to-two imbalance. The balance was righted by the chairman easily enough. The comments from the floor were lengthy, embittered and loud. An angry Welshman made a demagogic speech that would have done the Red Guards proud—waving his fists he denounced us and worked the audience to a fever pitch. It was an ugly sight. I am not old enough to remember fascist rallies, but the anti-Vietnam meetings must be their counterpart in my own generation.

In such situations, the question of what to do becomes almost academic. Even given predominantly hostile audiences, each teach-in and debate has its own tone. The two English debating styles are usually defined as Oxford Union (brittle, assured, very much a matter of semantics, the aim being to make the opposition look foolish and thereby discredit its arguments) and Redbrick (solemn, even evangelical, the aim being to convince the audience that of the two positions yours is the more "sincere"). At times the two must be combined or alternated. A general rule is that the Redbrick style is seldom adaptable to an Oxford Union context, since "sincerity" can easily be punctured, but that the Union style may be introduced sparingly into Redbrick debates for the same reason.

At the Reading meeting, for example, though the tone was very earnest, an occasional Oxford Union rapier thrust worked wonders. One of our opponents, William Warbey, a former Labor MP dropped by his constituency party for opposing government policy on Vietnam, had taken as his approach the history of the Vietnamese conflict from 1945 to the present. After using up his allotted twenty minutes and fifteen extra, Mr. Warbey had only reached 1946 and his initially sympathetic audience was beginning to get bored. He chose to wind up with a series of rhetorical questions, but, alas, not being an orator, he did not know when to pause. His most pregnant pause combined with a sweeping gesture, came after the question, "Did not President Roosevelt die?" One of our group rose and conceded that President Roosevelt did die. The response vitiated Mr. Warbey's ending and ended his effectiveness for the rest of the debate.

Some things are constant with all audiences. At almost every teach-in a quotation from former President Eisenhower is read out as a challenge: ". . . . Had election been held *as of the time of the fighting* (1954 and earlier) possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh *rather than Chief of State Bao Dai.*" As Kingsley Amis recently pointed out in a letter to the *New Statesman,* the italicized portions are always left out. If they are included, the contention that President Eisenhower thinks the Vietnamese favored Communism in 1954 disappears. Who could *not* have gotten 80 per cent of the vote against Bao Dai?

Another typical ploy is the claim by the most vitriolic anti-American speakers that they are really not anti-American, that indeed they love America and therefore want to see her extricated from an "immoral" war. They can have very little love for hapless Vietnam, at the mercy of the Vietcong.

The official opponents at such debates are often far less difficult to handle than the audience. Fratricidal squabbles among Peking-directed and Moscow-directed Communists sometimes erupt, and anarchists and pacifists go for each other with a will. The positions of the pro-China, Trotskyite and anarchist Left are so extreme that even the Russians demur. At a disarmament debate at a large redbrick university, I found myself with an attaché from the Russian embassy, a young Conservative and a lady from the United Nations Association, the opponents being an anarchist and a CND pacifist. During the pacifist's speech, the Soviet official turned to me grinning and said, "I don't understand a word of it."

Accent on the Uncommitteds

Much of the bickering among the speakers on the Left tends to destroy the confidence of uncommitted members of the audience in the anti-American position. And it is, in fact, the uncommitted towards whom the whole effort in debate must be directed. Every meeting, however rigged, has a few impartial folk who have come to think for themselves. Rather than being carried along by crowd spirit, they tend to be appalled by the excesses of their fellows. They react by sitting in silence. Every now and then, one asks a meek question, or calls "Hungary!" during a crucial moment. But for the most part they are silent. After a meeting some of them will gather round, sometimes say a few congratulatory or apologetic

(Continued on p. 706)

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Tax Reform: Canada Shows the Way

How and where do you start when you go about simplifying tax law? The Carter Report in Canada might be the place

D. G. M. COXE

Although John Diefenbaker was quite probably the worst premier in Canadian history, he may well prove to have benefited his country by his selection of Kenneth Carter, a shrewd accountant, to examine the whole fabric of Canadian taxation and suggest reforms. The appointment was made in 1962 and, it was assumed, the results would be published in 1964. It is a measure not of his slowness but of his thoroughness that Mr. Carter and his colleagues took four years for the job. The report was issued February 24, 1967. Premier Lester Pearson has announced that no implementation of the report will be made until it has been thoroughly examined by all interested groups. That means at least another year of argument and a strong likelihood that the report will be ditched. Nevertheless, all debate on Canadian taxation hereafter will be in the context of the report's recommendations, and it is instructive to examine it.

First, the constitutional background. Canada's Constitution is the British North America Act of 1867, as amended. Although Canada is an independent nation, it does not yet have the legal right to amend its own Constitution. The tradition has developed that London amends the BNA Act in response to a request from Ottawa. Ottawa refrains from making amendment requests if strong disagreement occurs to a proposed amendment from any two provincial governments, or from one government if that one government is either Quebec or Ontario. The BNA Act gave the federal government unrestricted taxation power, and gave the provinces primacy in the field of direct taxation. A direct tax, as defined by John Stuart Mill, is a tax levied directly on the party who will pay it. An indirect tax is a hidden tax, or one that may be passed along. On confederation, the colonies derived most of their revenues from tariffs, and it was assumed this would continue. It soon became apparent that this source of revenue was inadequate and Ottawa entered the income tax field during World World I with the Income War Tax Act. The rule that once a tax is enacted, it stays, was again demonstrated. The war ended, but the tax lived on. During the depression, the federal and provincial governments each levied income taxes without regard for one another—or for the taxpayers. Had one been unfortunate enough to earn $1 million in Alberta in 1937, federal and provincial income taxes on that income would have been well over 100 per cent. The Rowell-Sirois Commission, set up to examine fiscal policy at that time, recommended that the provinces withdraw from the income tax field and rent sole

right to income tax to Ottawa in return for Ottawa's assumption of certain provincial responsibilities in welfare payments. World War II solidified Ottawa's grip on the income tax and today only Quebec levies a separate income tax on its residents. The other provinces get a kickback from Ottawa of a percentage of income tax collections in their territories. The provinces collect succession duties (as does Ottawa), sales taxes (as does Ottawa), mining taxes, logging taxes and various minor taxes.

There is no capital gains tax in Canada, either for corporations or individuals. However, American interpretation of capital gains does not apply here. If the apparent capital gain results from "a venture in the nature of trade," it is taxable as ordinary income. The effect of this is that a sizable percentage of the brightest lawyers and accountants spend most of their time advising clients how to achieve tax-free capital gains.

In addition, the federal Income Tax Act is a complex statute crammed with deductions and exemptions to satisfy special interest groups, develop depressed areas or otherwise achieve government policy without regard to maximizing revenue. It is thus possible for a man to have dividends of $25,000 from mining stocks and pay no income tax whatever, because he can claim a depletion allowance on dividends, plus a 20 per cent dividend tax credit on dividends from Canadian corporations. Since the mining companies also get a depletion allowance, it means that the Exchequer gets only a small proportion of the mineral yield of the country. Additionally, all new mines in Canada get a three-year tax holiday. After that period they can charge all preproduction expenses against taxes, resulting in at least five tax-free years. A new mine means just that: any new mine brought in—even when it may be on another corner of a producing mine's property. Oil companies also get favorable depletion terms.

Farmers get favorable tax breaks and can borrow at ridiculously low rates from a Crown corporation. Hundreds of Canadian millionaires owr

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farms which they equip with swimming pools and riding stables with these low interest-rate loans.

In summary, the present tax laws are complex and artificial. They are the product of ill-informed *dirigisme* and successful pressure by powerful groups. Canada has more life insurance per capita by far than any other country, partly because Canadian life companies are virtually tax-exempt. The whole structure is shot through with ambiguities and inequities. Thousands of personal and corporate business decisions are made with more regard to tax implications than productivity.

Enter Carter

Carter's basic assumption is that what you get is the important factor, not how you get it. He would eliminate the distinction between capital gains and ordinary income. Why, he asks, should a man who works hard and effectively in his occupation three hundred days a year pay $8,175 income tax on his $25,000, while a man who wins $25,000 betting on horses goes tax-free?

The farmer whose farm is absorbed into a new subdivision by Metro Toronto may make $2 million tax-free, while his brother works hard forty miles to the north to make $10,000 on which he pays tax.

His second assumption is that high tax rates choke incentive. He sets 50 per cent as the upper limit of income tax rates.

His third assumption is that the family should be taxed as a unit, thereby eliminating the complex of income-splitting and asset transfer plans now used for tax avoidance. (Note: tax avoidance is the lawful structuring of one's affairs to minimize tax consequences; tax evasion is any fraudulent act or scheme to escape taxation.)

His fourth assumption is that the corporate entity should not result in double taxation for individuals—once when the corporation pays its taxes and again when dividends are declared.

His fifth assumption is that a working mother incurs family responsibilities that should be recognized by allowing her deductions for child care when she is away.

The most startling proposal involves elimination of the double tax corporate profits. Here's how it would work:

Assume XYZ Ltd. earns $100 before tax and pays its 50 per cent corporate tax on that income. It then distributes the remaining 50 per cent to a stockholder. Assume the stockholder is in a 40 per cent tax bracket. The stockholder takes the full $100 into his income for the year (called "grossing up the dividend"), resulting in a tax of $40. The stockholder claims the $50 already paid as a tax credit, and gets $10 as a refund or as a credit against tax liabilities. Since the highest individual tax rate would also be 50 per cent, it means that no stockholder would ever be liable to pay any taxes on profits of his corporation, and would get tax credits if his tax rate is below 50 per cent.

In the Report, Carter publishes the following illustrations of the proposal:

	Stockholder's Tax Bracket		
	15%	*35%*	*50%*
1. Income (Grossed-Up Dividend)	100	100	100
2. Personal Tax	15	35	50
3. Minus: Tax paid by Corp.	(50)	(50)	(50)
4. Tax (refund)	(35)	(15)	(nil)
5. Plus: Cash Dividend	50	50	50
6. Total Cash Rec'd by Stockholder	85	65	50

Dividends would not be required in order to entitle the stockholder. A corporation could allocate income to its stockholders without making any cash distribution. Four methods are suggested:

1. *Cash dividends.* No adjustment to the stockholder's cost basis would be needed upon receipt of a dividend.

2. *Stock dividends.* The stockholder increases his cost basis by the amount capitalized in the corporation's accounts as stock dividend.

3. *Capitalization of surplus.* Same as for stock dividends.

4. *Allocation of corporate income without capitalization of income in the company's accounts.* This would require an increase in the cost basis of the stockholder's investment.

The increase in the stockholder's cost basis, where no cash distribution is made, is necessary because of the new capital gains tax. If the corporation does not distribute its earnings as dividends, the share value will presumably be increased by the increase of remaining assets in the corporation. If the stockholder could not increase his cost basis for the shares, he would be taxed on this increase in the selling price of his shares even though he had already paid tax on this income when it was allocated or otherwise distributed to him.

Abolish Concessions?

Carter states that reduction in tax revenues in 1964 because of tax-free periods and depletion allowances was $150 million. He doubts that this had a beneficial effect on all Canadians to anything like the cost to the Exchequer. He recommends abolition of these concessions, but suggests allowing 100 per cent write-off of exploration costs. This, coupled with his proposal that tax losses can be carried forward indefinitely (as against the present five-year limit), would increase the cash flow of mineral exploration companies.

This has produced mighty howls from the mining and oil tycoons. Carter suggests a method for increasing capital flow to small exploration companies: investors in newly issued shares of mining and oil companies could write down their cost basis to the extent that proceeds of the issue were used for mineral exploration and development. This would naturally produce a loss, permitting the stockholder to deduct it from other taxable income. He would, however, abolish the present exemption for profits of prospectors and grubstakers.

The heads of huge companies like Imperial Oil (70 per cent owned by Jersey Standard), British-American Oil (68 per cent owned by Gulf) and International Nickel have publicly bemoaned the disastrous effects these recommendations would have on mineral development in Canada. Actually, all these companies have huge resources accumulated when corpo-

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rate tax rates were minimal, and the real desideratum is a fair competitive situation with smaller resource companies that have begun their operations since World War II. I think it likely that the Carter recommendations will benefit these newer companies without punishing the biggies. As long as exploration expenses can be fully written off, is any major company going to abandon exploration of favorable territories merely because it will have to pay taxes if it strikes a bonanza? The question for a businessman is not whether he has to pay taxes but whether he will get a favorable return on his investment. North American reserves of minerals are running short. Even now, 65 per cent of the Free World's copper comes from unstable countries like Zambia. Is Noranda or Inco going to stop looking for copper because it will have to pay taxes the way, say, IBM does on the profits IBM earns?

Carter's ideas are a boon to companies that started in business in Canada recently, because Canadians will be more likely to buy their securities and finance their operations. His recommendations fly in the face of leftist demands that the rich be soaked. By limiting tax rates to 50 per cent, he preserves incentives, and by eliminating capital gains exemptions he rewards those who earn their profits by investment or hard work, rather than by windfalls.

It would be reasonable to assume that any commission appointed by John Diefenbaker would have an anti-American tinge. Carter is not so easily categorized. It is true that some giant American firms now operating in Canada would pay higher taxes because of a combination of the above factors, but there is no discernible bias. "We do not advocate any Canadian tax changes that would worsen the absolute position of foreign investors in Canada . . . except . . . to remove inefficient industry incentives." The Commission recommends a reduction of the present 15 per cent withholding tax rate on dividends paid to nonresidents, assuming that such reductions are reciprocated under the Canadian-American tax treaty. Clearly, no case can be made that Carter is blinded by anti-American bias.

Carter's recommendations would simplify the tax structure and strengthen incentives for productive hard work. Their emphasis on the family as a unit is hardly inimical to conservative views. By adopting a total approach, rather than attempting emergency repairs to a rickety structure, they point the way to intelligent reform.

They deserve consideration.

The Cliché Expert Testifies as a Liberal

VICTOR GOLD

MR. LIBUTHNOT: Of course, the *thrust* of the Kennan thesis is that there aren't any *simple solutions* to the *complex problems* of—

Q: —*a planet in ferment?* Pardon me—you're Chester Libuthnot, the expert on liberal lexicon, right?

A: *A pluralistic diversity of countervailing determinants* perhaps, young man, but by no means *right: extreme, ultra* or *radical.* Nevertheless, if it's *confrontation* you want—Libuthnot's the name, *rapprochement*'s the game.

Q: Mr. L., we understand you've just returned from the Second Annual Cliché Festival sponsored by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Would you take a few minutes to tell the country what liberals like yourself are saying these days?

A: You mean, besides *rapprochement*? Well, let's see now. Alphabetically speaking, *coexistence, conciliation, détente* and *disengagement* are still moving off the shelves at a fairly brisk pace. Then, we have that ever-popular favorite, *reduced tensions.* And for those who lean to the tedious vernacular of MacBird's *military-industrial complex,* there's always *building bridges of understanding.*

Q: And you prefer?

A: The French, of course. It has a *style* sadly lacking in current *American ruling circles, n'est-ce-pas?*

Q: You tell us, Mr. L. Just speak right—that is, *into* the microphone, if you will.

A: *Define your terms, mon ami.* Are we *probing* foreign or domestic clichéology?

Q: There's a difference?

A: Is the Pope *ecumenical*? Take the word *nationalism,* for example. Overseas, it's *the winds of change*—

Q: And here at home?

A: —*a superpatriotic anachronism, the last refuge of scoun-*

Q: You've made your point, sir. Since you're here straight from the Fulbright Festival and high on foreign affairs—

A: *Escalated,* no question.

Q: —why don't we limit our discussion—

A: *Dialogue.*

Q: —to the world scene.

A: By all *viable* means.

Q: Well then, what's the liberal set saying about U.S. foreign policy?

A: Do you mean *before* or *after* we walk out on Hubert Humphrey?

Q: If it'll help you—

A: —*articulate*—

Q: —your position better, Mr. L., why don't we just assume you've walked out on the Vice President—

A: —*in meaningful protest*?

Q: Exactly. Now, as you were saying about U.S. foreign policy—

A: Only that it's *arrogant.* That it's totally *unrealistic.* That it's *unorchestrated.* That it's *nonexistent.*

Q: And by this I take it you mean—

A: —that *inflexible, frozen anti-Communist postures and responses,* along with *pious hopes* and *self-righteous assertions of sweeping moral commitment,* don't *constitute* a *policy!* Listen, young man: have you ever given thought to why members of your generation are (a) cutting classes; (b) going the route with LSD; and (c) growing bangs?

Q: We are?

A: I'll tell you why! Because youth understands—even if your hypocritical elders don't—that we're in *the wrong war at the wrong place*—

Q: —*at the wrong time*? Is that the *definitive* liberal position on Vietnam?

A: Not to mention Santo Domingo

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West Berlin and Passaic, N.J. After all, we just *can't*—

Q: —can't what, Mr. L?

A: *Impose our manicured middle-class suburban values on older societies,* that's what! *Be policeman for the world*! You know, of course, how this country's going to be brought into the twentieth century.

Q: How, Mr. L.?

A: *Dragged in kicking and screaming,* no less! I tell you, the American people are going to have to *come to terms with the grim realities of the world in which we live.* We're going to have to *recognize*—

Q: Red China?

A: For openers—but beyond that, *the limits of our own power (awesome though it be),* so that we can *direct our vast resources toward the solution of our own long-neglected domestic ills.*

Q: And if there's any of our vast resources left over?

A: *We must take the lead in the revolution of rising expectations*! Now, getting back to Red China—

Q: Oh, you've been there, Mr. L.?

A: As a matter of fact, I'm waiting for a visa. After all, *we can't ignore the existence of a country representing one-sixth of the world's population,* can we? Let's not forget, *we were a young, impetuous country ourselves not too long ago.*

Q: I take it then, Mr. L., that you don't think much of the parallel between appeasing Hitler in the Thirties and Mao in the Sixties?

A: The old *superficial Munich analogy,* eh? Let's see it *eyeball-to-eyeball,* friend: *Has Mao Tse-tung ever made a single territorial demand on Czechoslovakia*? No . . . if you ask me, we missed a golden opportunity there.

Q: Mr. Libuthnot, do I understand you to say that *we lost China*?

A: *Shades of the McCarthy Era!* How could *we lose China*? It wasn't *ours* to lose! All I'm saying is that Mao was an *agrarian reformer*—

Q: You mean, *he might have been*—

A: Precisely. *Another Tito, if we'd let him.*

Q: Then, you think—

A: *The Unthinkable*? Yes, it's about time Mao's China became *a member of the community of nations.*

Q: And in Vietnam?

A: Don't even mention it. *We might as well have elected Goldwater.*

Q: So you think President Johnson should—

A: *Move to the negotiating table. Pull back to enclaves. Keep hands off Vietnam's internal affairs* (after he fires Ky, of course). *Recognize the NLF. Roll back to Waikiki. Stop the bombing. Accept U Thant's three points.* Turn to the UN, which—though *an imperfect instrument—remains the last best hope for*—

Q: *Peace,* Mr. L., *peace! De-escalate* for a moment. How could the President be *responsive* to all that?

A: Well, understand, there's no *monolithic* liberal position here. In my own case, I *opt* for the alliterative solution—*a permanent pause* in the bombing, you know? Some others go for an *unconditional halt.* But Joe Kraft now—and if you're serious about doing a definitive job on liberal platitudes, you've got to talk to Joe—he leans toward the metric: *a prolonged cessation.* Scans beautifully, doesn't it?

Q: Would there be a *quid pro Ho,* Mr. L.?

A: *We'll never know until we try,* that's for sure. The Chinese have an ancient aphorism—or maybe it's Walter Lippmann: *A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.*

Q: But wouldn't that be true of a retreat, too?

A: Retreat? Son, that's a military term and *war is too important to be left to the military. We're a great power and can afford the risk of magnanimity.* After all, Ho is leader of a *newly-emergent nation,* and if we *but take the initiative and maximize our opportunities*—

Q: Sorry to interrupt, Mr. L., but it appears that *time is*—

A: *—running out on smug, complacent Americans steeped in their Puritan ethic*—

Q: Oops! We've been signed off, sir. The program has—

A: *—ripened to maturity*?

Q: You can say that again.

A: Rest assured, I will, young man—but don't think it hasn't been *a meaningful*—

Q: *Exchange?*

A: You took the word right . . . I mean to say, *out* of my mouth.

Q: Sorry about that, Mr. L. For a moment I got carried away by—

A: *—the wave of the future*? No apology needed, son. Come again any time. Always glad to *accommodate,* you know.

"Sometimes I wish you'd change back into an enchanted frog."

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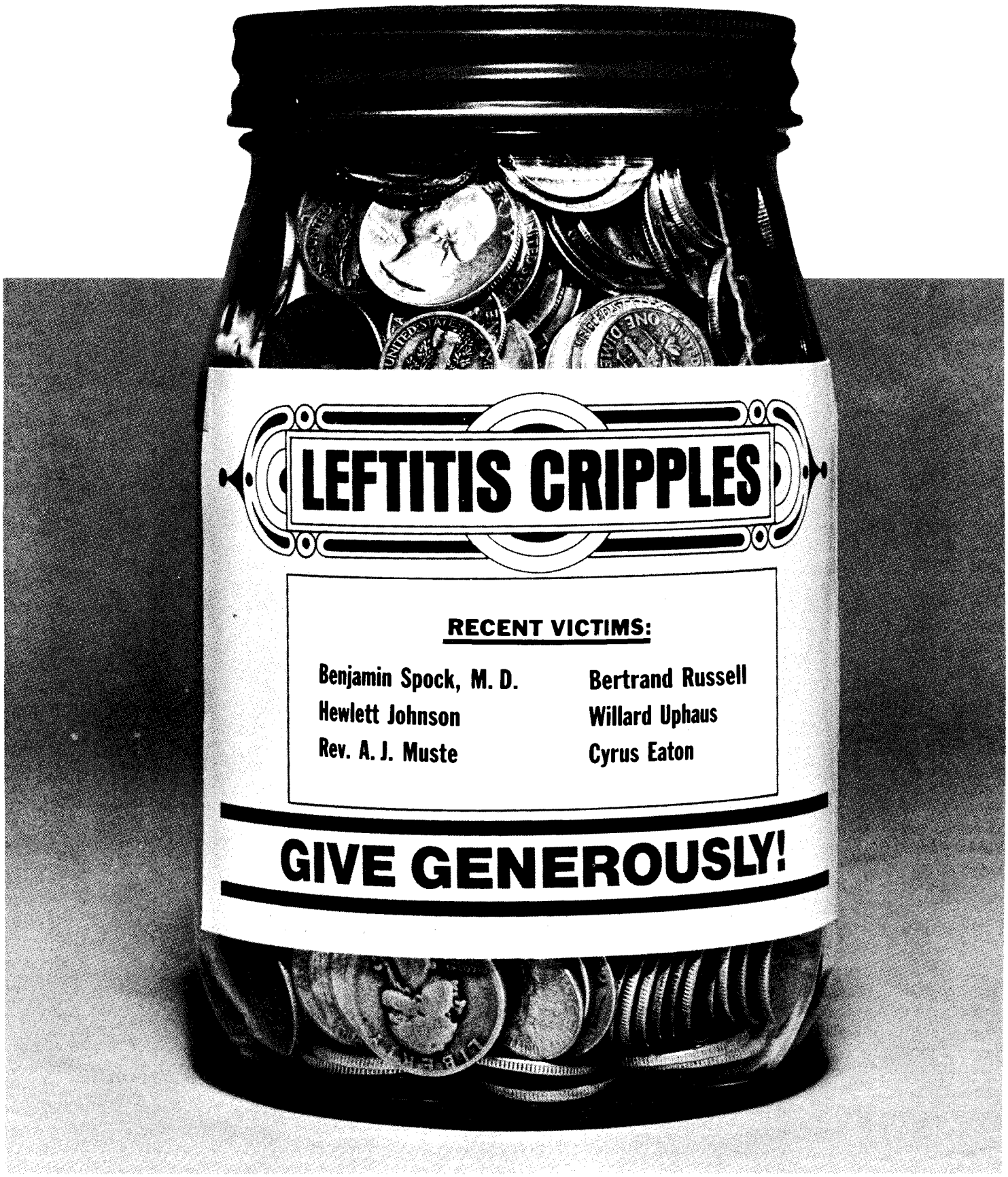

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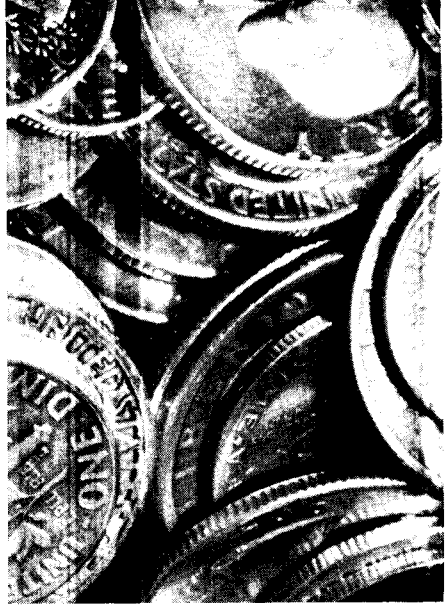

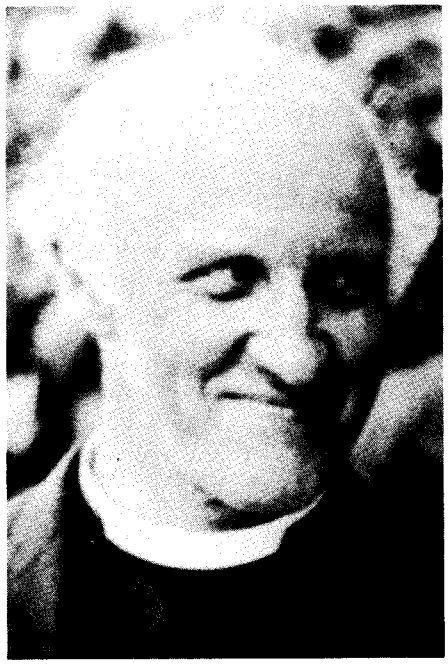

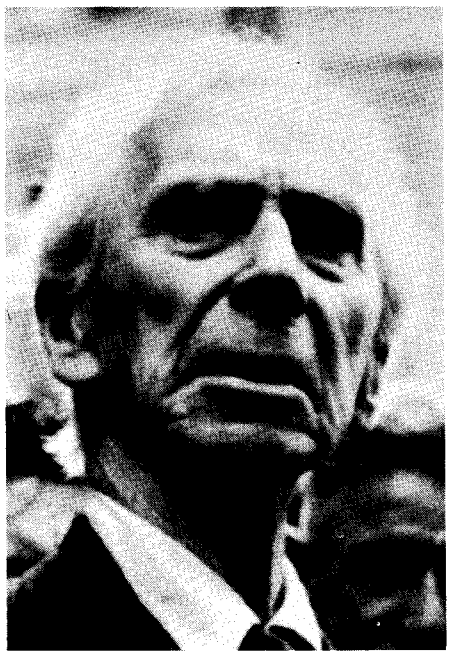

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Are Picnics Necessary?

NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON

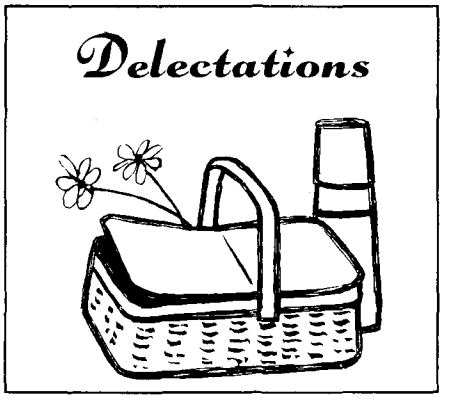
There are a number of things in American life one is supposed to endorse—mothers, vegetables, short hair for boys, educational movies and picnics. Eager as I invariably am to promote goodwill and to be seasonably smart as well, I will limit my remarks to picnics, which I consider vastly over-rated affairs.

Picnics as a form of entertainment have been going on for a long time. But reading up on them, it struck me that their heyday was during the ages of plentiful servants. All those lovely, elaborate picnics in the French or English countryside, so deliciously described by Hickey and any number of writers, so provocatively painted by Morland and Tissot, and so exuberantly practiced by Marie Antoinette and Byron, were not prepared by the picnickers, but by their menials. They cooked, they packed, and they carried the vittles over hill and dale and across the sands.

Witness the modern picnic. The harassed mother, usually surrounded by all of her other house chores and by children straining at the leash at the prospect of stuffing themselves silly in the open air, stays up late and rises early to prepare far more, and far more elaborate, food than anybody needs, indoors or out. She also packs the whole shebang, checking conscientiously so that the salt or napkins are not forgotten.

Picnic step number two is to get the blasted food to where it will be eaten and to set it up. Why people can't take their food out to their gardens, or if they don't have one, to picnic sites with tables and benches is beyond me. Or if they have to go places to eat, why not eat out of the car, so to speak? But no. Few picnic-givers are good landscouts; they seldom case the site where they will picnic, ending up with ant heaps under the blankets or a sandbar that will be flooded by the incoming tide. Or even worse, they will land in a spot where there is absolutely nothing for the children to do, with consequences in the little ones' behavior that are too horrible to describe here.

All right, now you eat, at best in moderate comfort, more often rather like pigs, because setting up an appetizing picnic spread is an exacting art. For one, it means a table and decent table furnishings. Who wants to eat from paper plates and plastic forks? (Yes, even at the risk of being shot by the paper plate industry, I must admit I *don't* like paper plates, however cunningly decorated to look like china.) If you must eat out of doors probably you feel that you must do the cooking there as well, unless you prefer to have the cooking done by a paid expert who will therefore not resent it. For many years I've



made it a practice to ask out-of-doors amateur cooks if they really liked broiling hamburgers or steak for more than two people (and few cooking picnics are conducted *à deux* since there are more amusing things to do), and I can only report that the majority of them would rather not cook.

Now of course I admit that it is fun to eat out of doors. If you want to do this in a distant spot that has to be walked to, why not give everybody his own box lunch to carry? If they don't want to lug, they can eat all of their food up at once, and if they are hungry later, that is their problem. Or else, if more complicated food has to be taken along, why not throw snobbishness to the winds and eat with the folks in a picnic site by the road or in a park?

As for water picnics, and they are my favorites, it is folly to carry anything but sandwiches over the sand. The solution there is boat picnics, and it is a desirable solution indeed. Last winter, kind friends from the Evinrude Foundation of Milwaukee carried a group of congenial souls to heavenly spots deep within the waterways of Florida's west coast. The boats were so stable that we even danced in them, to taped music. We passed flamingoes, pelicans and other fascinating wild life that you'd never see unless you were in a boat, we zoomed at a delicious speed when we felt like it, and we landed at a heavenly, deserted beach. Raised in the age of sails, I approached motor boating with some apprehensions. What won me over finally was not only the civilized aspect of it all, but also the fact that an arthritic party like myself could get in and out of the boats with comfort.

Much underestimated for the success of a picnic are the potables. Even the most wearying trudge with hampers becomes bearable after an initial snort, and another snort is surely necessary before setting up the picnic. As for the kids, let them have all the soft drinks they want to keep them quiet. (One bash of this sort isn't going to ruin their teeth.) But though alcoholic, the drinks ought to be on the light side—light rums, gin-and-tonics. Light whiskys, white wines rather than reds. And beer of course, though it does tend to make one feel soggy. Let us remember that Sir Francis Chichester, during his voyage round the world, looked forward to his pink gins, his champagnes, sherries and brandies, all called "refreshments," which indeed they are.

Picnic foods, all of them, should be kept simple, I think, and preferably eaten out of hand. Food should stick to the ribs, so that people won't have to eat all the time. Cold ham, meatloaf, Wiener Schnitzel, fried chicken and cold steak are excellent. Or if hot food is wanted, and can be packed without trouble, why not fill a big vacuum container with a good thick soup or stew, and serve it from plastic bowls of the more attractive kind, with bread, cheese and fruit? And serve it appetizingly, with napkins, a tablecloth and decent glasses to drink from; and metal knives and forks and spoons, please.

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FROM THE ACADEMY

Measuring Colleges Qualitatively

RUSSELL KIRK

A bold and percipient gentleman, who happens to be a professor at San Fernando Valley State College in California, has embarked upon a new labor of Hercules. He is Mr. Jack Gourman, and he has just published *The Gourman Report: Confidential Ratings of American Colleges* (The Continuing Education Institute, Inc., 1721 East McDowell Road, Phoenix, Arizona; 1,187 pp.; $17.50).

Nearly every four-year college in this land is examined by Professor Gourman—who is not a mere statistician, but is hot in the pursuit of excellence. From the welter of documents and reports about public and private institutions of higher learning, Mr. Gourman has contrived to extract meaning; and I find him amazingly accurate, so far as I am able to judge. (I've visited, at some time or other, about one-third of the campuses listed in the Gourman Report.) He awards to every college (though some college presidents will not be grateful) a general "Gourman Rating," somewhere between 200 and 800 points, and also grades non-departmental aspects of these institutions.

Kirk

No such rating of American universities and colleges ever has been undertaken systematically before. Every purchaser of this report will be sent supplements bringing the work up to date, as research progresses (colleges less than ten years old do not receive a general rating, though some information about them is included).

Bewildered parents and prospective college students, previously unable to judge the comparative merits of our multitudinous colleges, will find in the Gourman Report some clue to the quality of different institutions. College administrators may be heartened by favorable ratings, or spurred to improvement by embarrassing ratings.

It is interesting to find, for instance, that colleges for Negroes in the South do not seem to be the worst in the United States—not that any of them rate very high, though. So far as I have ascertained, the college rated poorest is Michigan Lutheran, with a score of 226—just above "D" level, or throughly unsatisfactory. Some state institutions in the most frigid North are unimpressive: Aroostook State Teachers College, in Maine, scores 287, and Johnson State College, in Vermont, sinks to 272; Mississippi Industrial College (for Negroes) stands at 274; Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, at 362.

At the top of the scale, Princeton rates 772, Harvard 770, Yale 762, Columbia 744, Chicago 743. The best state university is Michigan (Ann Arbor), with 749; the University of California at Berkeley is well behind, with 693. The University of Illinois rates 595, Wisconsin 656, Minnesota 645, Indiana 519, Iowa 535.

Two Southern universities are impressive—Duke and Tulane, both rating 600. Among Southern state universities, North Carolina is best, with 587; Louisiana is rated at 508, Virginia 527. If one counts Texas as part of the South, Rice University is highest of all in the region, with 633. Of technological institutions, MIT attains 644; California Institute of Technology, 697 (at the top of its category); Carnegie, 600; Rensselaer, 542.

Land Grants et al.

The land-grant universities, their ample fiscal resources considered, are no better than they should be. Michigan State rates 477, Purdue 516, Iowa State (Ames) 480.

Among Catholic universities, Notre Dame stands highest, with 741; Georgetown, 506; Catholic University of America, 513; Fordham, 473. Brandeis, predominantly Jewish, scores 584. Universities with some Protestant church connection vary immensely but among the better are Wesleyan, with 600; Emory, with 548; Vanderbilt, with 589.

As for liberal-arts colleges of the traditional sort, consider these scores: Amherst, 600; Dartmouth, 722; William and Mary, 471; Kenyon, 542; University of the South, 545; Kalamazoo, 449; Carleton, 542; Davidson, 486; Pomona, 600; Reed, 633; Rollins, 396; Haverford, 605; Bryn Mawr, 510; Vassar, 458; Antioch, 556; Randolph-Macon, 404. The pre-eminence of Dartmouth is conspicuous.

It should be mentioned here that the Gourman Rating is weighted in favor of full universities, as opposed to liberal arts colleges: that is, universities naturally have bigger libraries, more scholars of distinction, more contracts for research with the government, more efficient public relations departments, and the like—some of the many factors that Mr. Gourman takes into his reckoning. So in the choice of a college, one ought not to be guided solely by the general Gourman Rating, but ought to consult Mr. Gourman's separate ratings of departmental competence and other factors, and to remember that a humane scale, a pleasant environment, a religious dedication of the college, and other influences may outweigh some of those items which, in the Gourman calculus, produce a very high general rating. Thus despite Michigan State's Gourman Rating of 447, and Hampden-Sydney's rating of 375, neither Mr. Gourman nor any other sensible person would deny that so far as undergraduate instruction is concerned, Hampden-Sydney is head and shoulders above Michigan State.

In ideological and religious concerns, Mr. Gourman appears to be altogether innocent of prejudice. Every reader will argue with him about one score or another, and doubtless Mr. Gourman himself will alter his opinion of this or that institution, after further research. Yet the fairness and breadth of his general survey are almost marvelous. I judge campuses, in large part, by the intelligence of the students whom I encounter there; and on that score, with a few exceptions, my estimates coincide with Mr. Gourman's.

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The Garonne Flows Right

PHILIP BURNHAM

"The history of the world progresses *at the same time* along the line of evil and the line of good. At certain epochs—ours, for example—you see the effects of this double, simultaneous progress blow-up in a kind of explosion." For the Catholics of the world the Second Vatican Council was the bomb. It blew the roof off and produced a double, simultaneous effect: violent noise and activity on the left, concussion on the right.

Jacques Maritain's new work, *The Peasant of the Garonne*, from which the above quotation comes, is not available in the United States. It won't be published here for months—perhaps in November. But for an increasing number of people here and abroad, Catholic and even faintly ecumenical, this French book is already a major happening. Either the teaching voice of the Church is being raised, or the Catholic right is coming out of shock. Whichever it may prove to be, the left has been dealt a blow. *The Peasant of the Garonne* flatly and roundly attacks "neo-modernism." Compared with this raging fever, "the modernism of Pius X's time was only a slight cold." The polemics of the book, its will and emotion—and its wit, parenthetical ironies, exposures of taste, cracks—are aimed at the left. That is the news.

Maritain disclaims all pretensions of special authority. He portrays himself as the old peasant calling a spade a spade and unconcerned about putting his foot in his mouth. In his old age he lives remote from offices of power, a permanent guest in the sparse house of the Little Brothers of Jesus (of Charles de Foucauld) in Toulouse, on the Garonne River. Occasionally he still gets away for visits, as far at least as Texas and Rome. And everybody knows that Maritain is a great, "progressive" French philosopher, academician and ambassador.

NOR HAS HE ARRIVED at the position of *The Peasant* alone. The book associates Étienne Gilson, the philosopher and writer and teacher for decades recognized as his peer, closely with him. And Charles Journet, the Swiss abbé and monsignor and now Cardinal of the Church, long the probable favorite of Catholic intellectual and cultural "pros." Many other famous persons . . . and one who can rather certainly be cited is Pope Paul VI. Important paragraphs and at least three footnotes of the Pope's last encyclical bear witness to this. The story has spread, not certainly confirmed, that Maritain lived as a guest in the Vatican Palace for a considerable period during 1965-66. The *Avant-propos* of *The Peasant* is dated *31 décembre 1965.*

MARITAIN HAS ALWAYS put great stress on a precariously elaborated "middleism." He recalls his distinction of the terms "right" and "left" some years ago: physiologically, by temperament, "it is useless to pretend to be neither right nor left. All a person can do is to check his temperament and balance it as nearly as possible where the two tendencies converge." Normally these temperaments group themselves in corresponding political divisions, checked by political reason and practical convenience.

But in bad times the groups, exacerbated, go to fatal partisan extremes. "Then, to be neither right nor left means one tries to keep sane." During the last thirty years the situation has not only worsened, but "right and left no longer have simply a political and social sense; on top of that they have now—at least in the Christian world—a religious sense."

"I am neither left nor right," Maritain claims, "although I am temperamentally what people call a man of the left . . . I keep as far as I can from both camps, but it is quite natural (if hardly amusing) that I feel less distant from the first [the left, that is, whom he calls "The Sheep of the Panurge"] when it is a question of the things that are Caesar's, and less distant from the second (alas) [the right: "The Ruminants of the Holy Alliance"] when it is a question of the things that are God's."

BENEATH the current tides Maritain sees an "immanentist apostasy." We are afflicted by what he calls "epistemological chronolatry," "obsessional fixation on the passing moment," and "kneeling before the times." Lost in the flood is our "pre-philosophy," called common sense. In respect to this basic element of human nature, necessary for the exercise of reason, "man increasingly resembles an animal who has lost his instincts. . . . When everyone begins to turn up his nose at these things, obscurely perceived by the instinct of the spirit—such as good and evil, moral obligation, justice, law, or even extramental being and reality, truth, the distinction between substance and accident, the principle of identity—it is because everyone is beginning to lose his head."

"As disoriented as he is, man must go on thinking anyway." Furthermore, "there exists in man a philosophical eros, or longing for philosophy. . . . While this hunger certainly creates longing for the real to the extent that philosophic knowledge can give it, it yearns too for that aspect of reality which unfolds in other, more exalted ways. . . . Such hunger can turn into a morbid craving . . . for fables and intellectual counterfeit." It is the book's analysis and multiple condemnation of "Teilhardism" as one more "Christian Gnosis"—a "theology fiction" riding high the evolutionary wave—which has caused the greatest intaking of breath in France.

Maritain looks at the general efforts to reinterpret theology for the age

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and "bring the witness of the Gospel into the course of history." Some efforts are bound to go astray. "It is not a question of understanding better, thanks to reason, or of managing somehow (always and indefinitely progressive) to *know* the unchangeably true things faith reveals to us." Theology is not a rational knowledge. With some current forms of "fideism" (belief for the sake of belief, perhaps), one can reinterpret and restate articles of faith in the terms of any contemporary way of thinking—correct, incorrect, or crazy. This means in practice changing the content and concepts of faith to conform to the philosophic fashion and giving them only a temporary, utilitarian meaning. Maritain expresses sympathy for the motive of Bishop Robinson, for example, in his *Honest To God.* But such efforts "betray the Gospel in their desire to serve it . . . after their fashion."

To any man who looks, the religious, theological, philosophical time of troubles is visible in the world and in the work of the world. But even the world itself is no simple thing or easy concept in the faith and tradition of Christianity. There is the natural world of *Genesis.* God made it and it is good. A great work of the Council, Maritain believes, was to correct with calm and clear certainty (Schema XIII) a Manichaean tendency among Catholics to despise this naturally good world (not relatively, with the saints, but with fearsome absoluteness) and to live a life of hostility toward its civilization and society. That error was an *équivoque,* presumably of the right. With the Council, "the pendulum suddenly swung to the opposite extreme."

"In wide segments of the clergy and laity, but it is the clergy who set the example, hardly is the word *world* pronounced when a gleam of ecstasy lights up the faces of one and all. And immediately there is talk of *necessary expansions* and *necessary commitments,* and likewise of communitarian fervor, *presences, openings,* and their joys. Anything that would risk calling to mind the idea of asceticism, mortification or penance is set aside as a matter of course. . . . Sex—it is curious to see what interest, carried to the point of veneration, a crowd of Levites sworn to continence display in its regard. Virginity and chastity have a bad press. . . .

"The other great reality which faces us in the world is the Earthly Society . . . the great business and the only thing that matters is the temporal vocation of the human race, with its march, embattled but victorious, to justice, peace and happiness. Instead of realizing that we must devote ourselves to the temporal task with a will so much the firmer and more ardent just because we know that the human race will never succeed on this earth in completely delivering itself from evil—because of the wounds of Adam and because our ultimate end is supernatural—they make of these earthly goals a truly supreme end for the human race. In another sense, there is for them only this earth. A complete *temporalization of Christianity!*"

This the Peasant labels the great present *équivoque,* presumably of the left.

For the Christian, the Peasant points out, there should be more to see than the paradisiacal world of Genesis. Outside of Eden there is also the fallen world, a rough environment with lions prowling around, condemned throughout the New Testament and in the lives of all the saints: worldliness, closed to the spirit of God. Concentration upon the material universe without regard for Heaven is worldliness. This becomes only more radically true if glorified by some immanentist religious fiction of a God emerging in the evolution of His own physical creation.

Maritain has no quarrel with the propriety of Christians working for the good of temporal society and of the material world where people live until they die. He has spent a large portion of his life stimulating such work: the struggle to reflect and incorporate faith, hope and charity, and all the human powers, in the landscape of the City, elevating it to its highest potentialities. "Nevertheless, this struggle is not our one and only duty because the earth and earthly society are not the one and only reality. Besides, this temporal duty is really and truly accomplished by the Christian only when the life of grace and of prayer super-elevates energies which on their own are merely natural."

It is unlikely that the Fathers of the Church came to the Second Vatican Council for the purpose of liquidating the Holy Roman Catholic Church and the way of life it has transmitted for several thousand years. There is no plan to reduce Christianity to a benevolent association or a company of efficiency experts. The Kingdom of God is not an urban redevelopment. It is not a technological construction nor the fruit of computerized genetic breeding. The intervention of the Christian

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It's been a long uphill pull and *National Review* has been in the thick of it all along. (Imagine, if you will, what the last ten years would have been like for conservatives *without* NR and all the people associated with it!) And while "conservative" isn't a dirty word anymore it isn't exactly on every tongue. We still have a long way to go.

Up to now our audience has been composed mainly of knowledgeable conservatives and those Liberals who want to keep up with things conservative. Lately, however, there has been a sharp upturn in *uncommitted* subscribers who, (judging from the mail) simply appreciate a well-written, well-edited magazine that gives them a different look at the world. *Obviously, these are the very people we must reach if conservative influence is to expand.*

National Review is the kind of magazine that *can* reach them—*can* stimulate them to seriously consider the conservative position. To what extent this happens depends on you (since we can't afford to "buy" subscribers as "mass circulation" magazines do). These people are *your* friends, relatives, neighbors, business and social acquaintances. They may be uncommitted but they're not uninterested.

Do something about arousing that interest. Show them a copy of *National Review*. Tell them about it. Let them know that this is Bill Buckley's magazine, the one that keeps popping up on his "Firing Line" TV show discussions (you'll be surprised at how many people haven't connected the two).

And, most important, tear out the card facing this page right now *and use it!* After all, it's only through the efforts of people like you that we will be able to reach these potential conservatives. We don't know who they are but *you* do. So make it a point to introduce someone to *National Review* today.

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left in the world is already proving to be terribly undistinguished. However radical it is in its own eyes it seems to lack the revolutionary impact of sanctity, or even of satisfying artistry; and it seems to accomplish very little in the actual way of the world.

The Peasant of the Garonne proposes at considerable length and with no small subtlety ("distinguish in order to unify") a "middle" Christian position. The Christian can do (and must do) his temporal duty by the natural world in the process of seeking the eschatological world of the Resurrection which Christ has opened. According to the Thomist method, which Maritain praises, "formulation of the problem, research and investigation come before systematization." The book follows this form closely—if I am correct in finding the "systematization" in the descriptions, plain and logical and very moving. The culmination is, "according to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit," liturgy and contemplation—the "contemplation on the road" still visibly that of "Christ's disciples." Once again, "in, but not of, the world."

Fiction

Novels Evaporating and Permanent

GUY DAVENPORT

HERE ARE THREE NOVELS about childhood and growing up. It is Dickens, I suppose, taking a hint from Captain Marryat, who invented childhood for the novel. Ruskin and the Rev. Dodgson were, at the same time, inventing the child. Then came Proust, Freud, Dostoevsky—everybody, in fact; and the child, who had no more rights or attention in literature than a mule or an old maid, suddenly became the darling of Western imagination. Someone will tell us what it all means someday. Novelists work within movements, following models nearby, and give as much philosophical reflection as to why they have chosen their subjects as a bee to the botany of the flowers it denectars.

The Paste-Pot Man, by Edwin Lanham. Farrar, $5.95

In Pious Memory, by Margery Sharp. Little, Brown, $4.95

A Ride on the Milky Way, by Marguerite Dorian. Crown, $4.95

Edward Lanham, for instance, might explain, if he were suddenly stricken with total candor, that his novel is made out of Robert Lindner's *Rebel Without a Cause,* Orson Welles' *Citizen Kane,* and the general myth of American expatriates in France during the Twenties, notably Hemingway. Rich material, this, but Mr. Lanham is a self-respecting novelist, so he must recast it, and chooses the triple-switch or Chinese-puzzle plot of E. C. Bentley for his containing form. The result is a mystery within a mystery within a mystery, and fine reading it makes.

Yet *The Paste-Pot Man* is an unresolved story. Its clever ending is an illusion. Little boys who play with dolls, we are to understand, grow up limp-wristed. And men who are as masculine as rams, who recoiled from dolls in the very cradle, who grow up to ravish womankind in serial order—do not be fooled; they, too, but ever so secretly, are limp of wrist. Mr. Lanham has written a *Tom Swift in Vienna*: a reduction of the nature of things to the Freudian two-headed coin. Human nature, alas for the bargain-basement shoppers in the Viennese mart, will not answer to an exclusively biological or psychological or any other *nothing-but* description.

Mr. Lanham, one gathers, is a business-like novelist, a craftsman who knows what will work and what will sell. Once he has written up the agonies of mankind, he goes fishing, what the hell, and forgets it all. A yarn is a yarn. What Mr. Lanham has stumbled upon is the stock-in-trade definition of paranoia, a game in which every move loses, the analysis of which, especially in literary paradigms, sounds something like malaria before the mischief of the anopheles mosquito was known. This is a plausible and highly entertaining novel flawed by a vulgar psychological gimmick that stands between us and the novelist's insight into his characters like an opaque and insulting wall.

TO TURN FROM Mr. Lanham's morbidities to Margery Sharp's new novel is like putting down an illustrated medical encyclopedia for the funny papers. Here childhood is as bedeviled as in Mr. Lanham's leaden tale, but the spirit of comedy flows over it all like a spring wind. Here is the same search for a lost or dead father. The spirit, Comedy insists, is regenerative, as irrepressible as a courting cat, and Margery Sharp takes her characters through bouncing paces that would give Herr Doktor Freud the colic to hear tell of. This elate little comedy, perfect in its wit and civility, is the twenty-third of its brash kind. It is a knowing smile at the human predicament, to be recommended as an antidote to melancholia and to novels like Mr. Lanham's.

MARGUERITE DORIAN'S first novel is a wonderment indeed. It, too, is about childhood, and is one of those rare works wherein the universality of the theme grows paradoxically from a magic particularity of detail. The story is of a girl whose childhood in Bucharest touches for a few summer weeks the life of a puppeteer. The spell he innocently casts becomes for her a permanent enchantment. The puppeteer is young and blithe, Bohemian, free. With adroit skill Mrs. Dorian tells us of the heroine's adolescence and young womanhood, a tale that seems to be a separate plot, a novel in itself, though the memory of the puppeteer is always there, and we are beguiled into forgetting the implications of our heroine's eventually going to Paris to study puppetry under the wizard of her childhood. In the third part of the novel, when she is twenty, she achieves Paris. What happens then—the puppeteer is, we discover with wonderful surprise, an old man—is story-telling in the hands of a master novelist.

THE BEAUTY of a novel's shape depends on the economy of the forces within it, how powerfully they pay off, and how intelligibly they grow in meaning, at the resolution. This is a tragic novel, but it is not the reversal of fortune or rhetorical dip

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into despair that passes for the tragic sense nowadays. It is a tragedy of perception told with a fineness that, sadly, we no longer expect to find in modern writing. The sudden clarity of the plot at its end is no trick. Mrs. Dorian gradually illuminates her story from within, page by page, working with that careful slowness and sureness that distinguishes the master, until all is transparent and inevitable.

A Ride on the Milky Way is a splendid novel. It is small but fine; the narrowness of its theme is not suffocating, nor its delicateness frail. In an age in which art is praised for its monumentality or for its obsessed focus on select problems, it is difficult to characterize a novel that is quiet in its strength and thoroughly realized and finished within its own contours. It will not be a popular novel, but it will be around when the popular novels will have been pulped and made into grocery bags.

Conservatism and History

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

WHATEVER THE LESSONS of history may be, the protean past always speaks to us with an ambiguous voice. It is not simply that the clamor of the present blurs and distorts what otherwise would have been a clear message from one generation to another, from one century to another. The experience of history is itself a manifold and its meaning must be disentangled from the exertion, the hopes and the frustrations of the past as well as from the passions of the present. Even when the monographic historian has explored his narrow subject carefully and won from it as much clarity as his intense and narrow investigation is capable of yielding, the view he holds must of necessity remain partial and incomplete. It is only in those works of broad synthesis, building as they do upon the partial meanings of the monographic historian, that the past gains an articulation and meaning which it did not possess even for those who experienced it. And it is only in these broadly synthetic works in which the concerns of the present and the passions of the past interpenetrate and are fused that the dialogue of the centuries can take place. It is in the great work of synthesis that the ambiguities are resolved and the accounts settled, the form and meaning of the past established with as much finality as our creatureliness admits.

***The Genesis of German Conservatism,* by Klaus Epstein. Princeton, $17.50**

Until recently the major synthetic works dealing with the history of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries traced the evolution of liberal democratic and popular socialist and Marxian thought. Those works written in the course of the nineteenth century not only lacked perspective, but were invariably and triumphantly nationalistic in tone, and in the case of Germany dominated by the success of Prussia. Those great latter-day historians, Friedrich Meinecke, Franz Schnabel and Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, did much to shift the emphasis from parochial-nationalist to common European concerns and from a language of cultural particularity to a language with general relevance to Western society. Even so, their works were preliminary essays which sketched out the lines of attack but were unable to avail themselves of the complete range of evidence and the monographic materials which have since become available. All of these historians attempted an exploration of the great current of conservatism which was the formative influence in modern German history, yet each in his way fell short of achieving his objective.

It is of the utmost interest and importance, then, that an American scholar, Professor Klaus Epstein, chairman of the history department at Brown University and frequent contributor to *Modern Age,* has written a compendious work of synthesis which not only dazzles by its superb bibliographic and interpretative mastery, but which presents German history between 1770 and 1806 with a wholly new clarity. When the promised second volume of this major work appears it will at last be possible to understand the dynamics of nineteenth-century German history. This book clearly establishes Professor Epstein as the most important living historian of the German-speaking peoples.

Moreover, Professor Epstein demonstrates that at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not only a great occidental or Atlantic revolution which one can recognize as Professors Louis Gottschalk and R. R. Palmer have done in its American and its French phase, but a great conservative upwelling which manifested itself in every aspect of German life—religious, social, political and economic. It goes without saying that this conservative movement was not simply a German but a universal European phenomenon.

TO A FAR greater extent than is generally recognized, the tone of the nineteenth century was not one dominated by the energies and potencies of liberal, democratic and socialistic ideas. In France, in England, and in Germany in the last three decades of the eighteenth century, a conservative *Weltanschauung* emerged and formulated its conceptions of the good society. It was a common European movement which developed dialectically and in close relationship to the ideas of Enlightenment and the democratic revolution. Unfortunately, the positive aspects of this great conservative movement have, until recently, been almost completely neglected in Anglo-American historiography; its pedigree has been ignored and its thinkers despised and discounted as blind reactionaries. Where conservatism was not ignored, as in Professor J. Barzun's *Romanticism and the Modern Ego,* Romanticism and conservatism are seen simply as a reflex from Classicism and the French Revolution.

Professor Epstein has gone a long way toward correcting this underevaluation of conservatism. He has traced with patience the emergence of German conservatism and correctly sees it in close relationship to the

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social and economic structure of German life in the late eighteenth century. There are few recent works of history in which the critical apparatus of footnotes and bibliography bulk so large or are so important to the meaning of the work. Moreover, it would be difficult to find a recent historical work where the footnotes are as exciting, as opinionated and as interesting as they are in Professor Epstein's book.

SEEN IN A larger context, the problems attendant upon the rise of German conservatism are the perennial problems of conservatism everywhere. Even in a superficial sense this is the case. The conspiracy theory of revolution and the preoccupation with Free Masonic lodges and subversive associations of Illuminati, which have obsessed a certain portion of the conservative movement down to the present time, had their rise in Germany. Professor Epstein traces the development of the conspiracy theory with elaborate care and not a little humor.

Obviously, the blueprints of a Burke or of an August Rehburg are not valid plans for our society, nor is there any ultimate validity in their formulations of the conservative position. When conservatism is anything more than a blind and uncomprehending opposition to all novelty and development it is a tactic for change and transformation. The "reform conservative" is a perennial type. In each generation it is he who strikes a compromise between the demands for liberty and the social imperative for order, a compromise between ancient institutions and faiths and the necessity for change and renewal, a compromise between the claims of justice and the need for stability, a compromise between the validity of the local and the legitimacy of the universal. It is this conservative who will not be hurried but who will not temporize and who believes that ultimately the conscience of society is a surer test of morality than the presumption of individuals. Professor Epstein is himself such a conservative and his book asserts the validity of such a position.

Random Notes

● BOOKS: Mihajlo Mihajlov's latest (and, for a while, last—he's in jail for "spreading propaganda" hostile to the Tito regime) will be published in this country as *Russian Themes;* deals primarily with intellectual stiflement in the USSR (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, fall). . . . Tarzie Vittachi, a Ceylonese journalist, tells it how it was in *The Fall of Sukarno* (Praeger, $4.95). . . . More on Knut Hamsun: his *Hunger,* a rocker in its day, is to be published in the first new English translation since 1921; critical introduction by Isaac Bashevis Singer (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, July, $4.95). . . . Cornell University Press has a new series, "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life"; among the first four books is A. M. Snodgrass' *Arms and Armor of the Greeks* (July, $6.50). . . . Another launching: Indiana University Press' five-volume edition (condensed from the twenty-volume Danish original) of *The Journals and Papers of Søren Kierkegaard,* translated and edited by Howard V. and Edna H. Long. Volume I (A-E) is due in August, at $12.50. . . . Arthur Koestler's first book in quite some time is *The Ghost in the Machine;* he suggests, quite plausibly, that there's a massive flaw in man's evolutionary background (Macmillan, 1968); same publisher will issue, this August, three more titles in the uniform "Danube Edition" of Koestler's works: *Dialogue with Death, The Lotus and the Robot* and *Thieves in the Night.* . . . George Eells' *The Life That Late He Led* is billed as the definitive biography of the late Cole Porter (Putnam, $6.95). . . . Oh dear: Bishop James A. Pike has written *You and the New Morality,* a handbook of situation ethics complete with Sample Situations (Harper, $3.95).

● PAPERBACKS: Mary Q.'s autobiography, *Quant By Quant,* surfaces as a Ballantine Mod Book (July, 75¢). . . . Two sf items: *Tomorrow the Stars,* an anthology edited by Robert L. Heinlein, has an impressive list of authors—not including, alas, RLH (Berkley Books, 75¢); Roy Meyers' *Dolphin Boy* takes the Tarzan approach, but underwater: a lad is raised by dolphins, tries life ashore, Can't Adjust, etc. The publishers think it could be the first in a long series, again *à la* Tarzan (Ballantine, 75¢).

● THE RUMOR MILL: Moving up fast on the Hate-America hit parade in Paris is *2,000 Maniacs,* play by expatriate Herschel G. Lewis wherein some Yankee tourists find themselves, Brigadoonishly, in a magnoliaed ante-bellum Dixie town whose citizens practice cannibalism. . . . Kingsley Amis' first James Bond book is set in the Grecian Isles; *ms.* is about to be wrapped up. . . . George Hamilton will do summer stock this year; it's rumored they wanted him to star in *At War with the Army,* but he chose *Philadelphia, Here I Come* instead. . . . Highly Reliable: Antiquarian book-sellers will send scarce books on approval to almost anyone—except senators, congressmen, others writing on official Washington letterheads. Seems such types keep the books, forget to pay for them.

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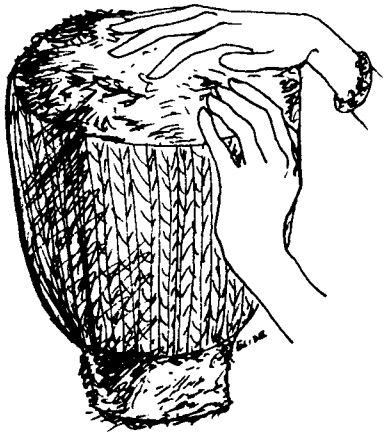

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Theater

MacBird! — A British View

NICHOLAS TOMALIN

THE END OF TERM. A pantomime, written in palpitating secrecy by the two sixth-form anarchist-intellectuals and that new swinging young English master, is mounted in the gym. The headmaster, comfy in a front-row armchair (his lady beside him) watches himself as Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber, slaughtering half his common room while—as a sub-plot—the senior classics master touches up matron, the first fifteen sing Hawaiian lullabies in grass skirts and the art master camps across the stage as Buttons, making sly references to nonexistent scandals among the prefects.

The sixth form watch with conscious urbanity; the fifth guffaw; the fourth form are in a state of hysterical terrified glee. How daring! How marvelous! All those insulting Gilbert and Sullivan choruses with The Beak's name inserted! Why doesn't he jump up and stop the show! But he takes it, of course, with a tolerant if, just once or twice, thin-lipped smile. At the end he stands up to congratulate one and all on a splendid show. So talented, so clever, so irreverent. It's nice to see ourselves as others see us (laughter), and it all proves (so he likes to feel) that as with all happy communities, we can laugh at ourselves. Everyone leaves for home in a glow of loyalty and self-congratulation.

IT IS SAID that Senator Robert Kennedy, that most progressive of putative headmasters, enjoyed being attacked in *MacBird!*, the end-of-term pantomime for his brother's Presidency. Clearly it was only because Lyndon B. Johnson hasn't the wit to appreciate sixth-form humor that he was not in the front row at the New York production of *MacBird!*, pointedly in stitches, thus—like any clever headmaster or commanding officer—instantly depriving it of its frantic underground reputation as a searing, sensational indictment of wickedness at the top. Even with his furious disapproval *MacBird!* is only a lump of non-satire, an occasional piece of the dreariest, most conventional sort, offered up by a poetaster-laureate to the chic Protest Establishment of the American West Coast.

The play is written by a young California housewife (and stalwart of Students for a Democratic Society), Mrs. Barbara Garson, with, in its British version, emendations by Joan Littlewood. *MacBird!* is a dogged parody of *Macbeth,* with slabs of half-a-dozen additional Shakespearean plays inserted where convenient. The joke (the one joke) is that disturbing contemporary references like "New Frontier" or "Pax Americana" are injected into familiar quotations, and famous political figures are given thane-ish titles like Ken O'Dunc, the Wayne of Morse, or The Egg of Head (Adlai Stevenson).

Mrs. Garson says that the germ of her parody came to her as a slip of the tongue. She found herself saying Macbird in place of Macbeth at some Berkeley cocktail party. Instantly the idea burgeoned: how appropriate to have three drop-out witches (one Beatnik, one Black Muslim, one old-fashioned left-winger) at a Democratic Party convention ("Fair is foul and foul is fair, hover through the stale and smoke-filled air") promising MacBird the Senate leadership, the Vice Presidency and then:

> "All hail MacBird, that shall be President!"

How jolly to have the Kennedys as a Ken O'Dunc clan. And Lady Bird Johnson as that vulgar harpy Lady MacBeth.

> *MacBird:* I dare do all that may become a man
> Who dares do more is none.
> *Lady MacBird:* I'm not a man
> I am a lady and a Southern hostess.
> With simple signs of hospitality
> I mean to give our guests the warmest welcome.

What a merry jape to write verse couplets in boisterous Texan:

> My secretary's waiting in the hall
> With autographed photos for y'all.

How neat to recreate the gibbering and sheeted ghosts as the New York power failure! And then how amusing

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to insert the thousand best-loved Shakespearean tags into the text, each one subtly altered:

MacBird: Unity, unity, wherefore art thou unity?
The Egg of Head: To see, or not to see, that is the question . . .
MacBird: This here is the winter of our discontent
Made odious by that son of . . .
Crony: Yeah.

(This kind of thing is amazingly easy. Why did Mrs. Garson forget "A whore, a whore, my kingdom for a whore"—or "The expense of spirit in a waste of shame is the Warren Commission action"—or "Something's rotten in the State of Texas!"—no, sorry, she remembered that one—or "Oh what a rogue and peasant President am I" and so on right through *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*?)

THE PROBLEM, as Barbara Garson and every after-dinner humorist has found, is that such parodies appear monuments of ingenuity when you still have the original beside you; on their own they sometimes seem lame. What's more, after the initial glorious inspiring joke, you have to keep it up; consistency involves a number of extremely weak jokes.

It also involves sticking roughly to the original plot. Having started off

a Johnson-Macbeth joke, Mrs. Garson clearly found herself obliged to make Johnson kill Kennedy. It is this stroke, with all its heavy implications of conspiratorial special knowledge, and outspoken social criticism, that is responsible for the overblown satirical reputation of *MacBird!* But it's pretty clear the murder only happened that way because the plot demands it. Mrs. Garson doesn't seriously believe it happened that way. And even here she has a failure of nerve: the murder is archly indicated, as if to flatter some teach-in assumption that there must have been a great big, rotten conspiracy. The effect is merely of modish knowingness.

MacBird! decorates its basic joke with some quite funny humor. Mrs. Garson is better about her friends than her distant enemies. The witches quarrel amusingly over their clashing forms of protest. Her Egg of Head, an overarticulate sap who refuses to oppose MacBird until it's too late, is convincingly done.

But where the schoolgirl irony is dropped and the attempt made to be direct and serious, *MacBird!* is a terrible flop:

Taylor's tongue and Goldberg's slime,
MacNamara's bloody crime.
Sizzling skin of napalmed child,
Roasted eyeballs, sweet and mild.
Now we add a fiery chunk
From a burning Buddhist monk.
Flaming field and blazing hut,
Infant fingers cooked and cut,
Young man's heart and old man's gut.
Groin and gall and gore of gook
In our cauldron churn and cook.

Why Goldberg's *slime*? Clearly, because it rhymes with crime. Who is seriously concerned with self-immolating Buddhists? Not someone who writes of chunks of monks.

MacBird! is a good text to categorize types of immature humor: the infantile, the schoolboy and the undergraduate. Infantile humor has at least some properly anarchic custard-pie type clowning. Undergraduate humor is doggedly destructive and cynical, and packed with deliberately arcane references. As usual it is the middling category that is dull and conformist: schoolboy humor plays the game, and needs only a token refusal to be shocked to be totally disarmed. *MacBird!* is pure schoolboy.

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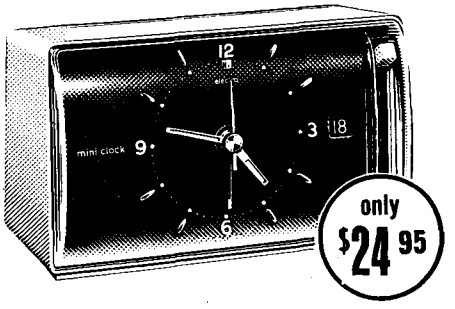
SOME PEOPLE WILL THINK YOU'RE CUCKOO TO PAY $25 FOR "JUST" A CLOCK



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They're the same people who don't mind living with "the approximate" time or walking into a Five-and-Dime every six months to buy another new $8.95 wind-up tick-tock.

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NO TIME LIKE THIS TIME — NR-0627
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(California residents add 4% sales tax.)
☐ Bill AmExp.
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Zip
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BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE COUNTRY TEAM, by Robin Moore (Crown, $5.95). Robin Moore starts off with one major handicap in his new suspense novel, *The Country Team*: the reader knows in advance how it is going to work out. Forget the disclaimers (every author has to contend with his own libel lawyer); this is a fictionalized version of the events leading to the ouster and murder of President Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu. To make the identification more certain, Mituyan's Premier KaritKi has an unscrupulous and seductive Dragon Lady sister-in-law, a corrupt brother, gauleiter of the northern provinces, who is subsequently executed by the chiefs of the junta (as was Ngo Dinh Can); there are Buddhist demonstrations, a Mad Monk, self-immolations, the works. The villains are the KaritKi family and its connections and "The Country Team," the American high command on the spot (the Ambassador and the heads of the Military Assistance Program, AID and CIA). They have no concept of what the Communists are up to and take the word of KaritKi and his brother, against the word of their own junior officers in the field, that all is well. The heroes (and doughty and valiant heroes they are) are the dedicated men of the Special Forces contingents in Mituyan and their CIA (spook) allies. Their adventures: how they secure Mituyan's northern flank by enlisting the aid of the mountain tribesmen and how they circumvent the Country Team to let Washington know what is really going on, makes rousing reading—the kind of stuff the best adventure tales have been made of since the days of Homer. A word of caution: some of the torture and atrocity scenes are rough, not for the queasy. But that's what has been going on in Vietnam, that's what *is* going on in Vietnam and what we're fighting for, among other things, is to free Vietnam from Communist terror.

P. L. BUCKLEY

PLEASURE OF RUINS, by Rose Macaulay (Walker, $7.50). The "ruin pleasure" which this book so beautifully analyzes and illustrates is a type of enjoyment not often savored by Americans. In addition to our native forward-looking tendency and disinclination to brood over the past, we are handicapped by the jet speed of our grand tours through older lands, and, especially, by our lack of classical education. Can anyone, any more, quote Horace while exploring the site of his farms, or recall Homer's descriptions of Troy while meditating on the ruins of that city? In a way the very pleasure of ruins, which stems at least in part from a literate awareness of what the broken stones once were, seems to belong to the past and to the professional *archaeologist*. *Miss Macaulay's* book is all the more valuable, then, for making us aware of the riches of what she calls "the stupendous past" and, perhaps, making us realize how much we missed the last time we ploughed through Rome, Pompeii and Athens in ten days before flying on to Egypt. The author discusses an incredible number of ruin sites, sketching their histories, characteristics of their people, their rediscovery and excavation, and, particularly, the way in which they were viewed by tourists through the ages and the speculations they evoked. (The latter have a remarkably similar character, no matter what the ruin or the age. The vanity of worldly glory and the passing of all things, including the ruin viewer, occurs to almost everyone.) It is a rich book, to be slowly savored like the ruins it brings before us.

J. ZOLA

MAN INCORPORATE, by Carl B. Kaufmann (Doubleday, $5.95). This is a fairly interesting attempt to describe man's relation to his work and to his colleagues at work, with special attention to the difficulties of retaining individuality in these days of huge corporate complexes. Kaufmann is at his best when discussing the nature of the problems of corporate management. Those who deplore a seemingly inevitable trend towards facelessness and "alienation" will be interested in Kaufmann's description of the steps being taken in major companies today to reverse the time-motion-study approach to management and reintroduce the human element.

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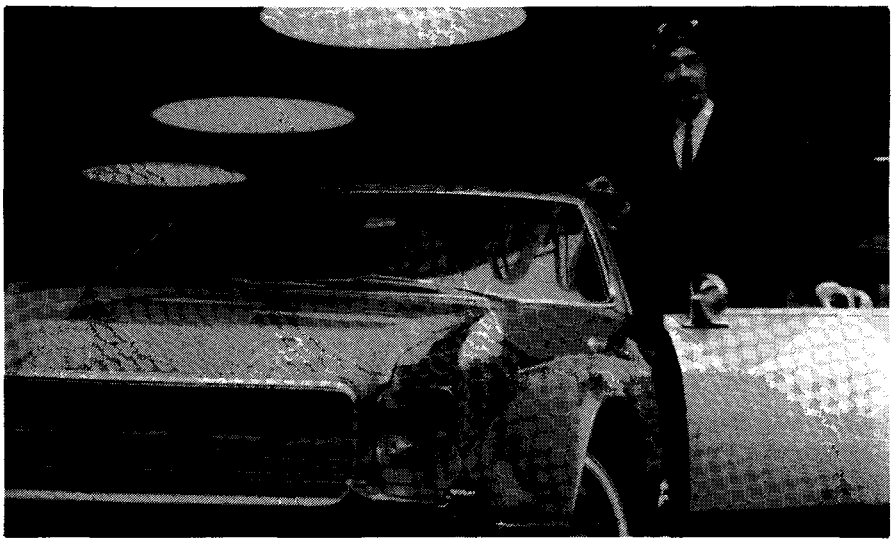

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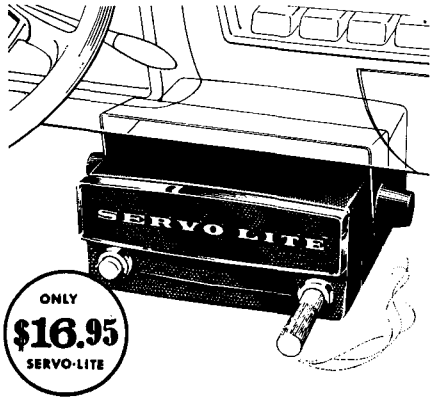

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FLETCHER

(Continued from p. 687)

words. One old gentleman slipped me a note after a debate, saying that he liked my argument and was on my side but did not want to say anything in public. He had a point. The platform is probably a safer place than out front during a debate. There is a safety area between speakers and audience, and much as the militants may wander around the room shouting, they are unlikely, at the moment, at least, to come on the platform to land a blow. But they will pull down pro-Americans who stand up in the audience and will sometimes hound them from the room with abuse.

The much professed love of the far Left for mankind manifests itself in an absence of love for those close at hand or in the next seat. Those who come in innocently from the streets to watch their meetings must be very distressed.

The disquieting fact about participating in teach-ins is that it is almost impossible to judge their effect. But if they serve to show the extremes of the Left and at the same time to provide a forum for the case for South Vietnam, then they are useful. Like Sir Oswald Mosley's meetings in the Thirties, their extremism alienates the support they hope to win. I regretted having to turn down the chance to address a march in Leamington two months ago. The sponsors were the Warwickshire Women for Peace in Vietnam, the Young Liberals, the Warwickshire Peace League, the CND, the Young Socialists, and the Young Communists. It might have been a bracing encounter.

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (June 13)

GORE VIDAL, THE HOLY FAMILY: Of contemporary politicians (the Rockefellers excepted) the Kennedys alone possess the money to maintain one of the most remarkable self-publicizing machines in the history of advertising, a machine which for a time had the resources of the Federal Government at its disposal.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. A person who is considerably smaller than average in size or stature	38 20 152 135 46
B. Tending to omit	45 37 83 128 164 195 100 143 206 28 223
C. Habitation for an industrious insect	51 77 1 193 87 117 137
D. A king of Rome after Romulus	65 9 52 73 92 99 102 114 160 231 22
	31 49
E. What each of us is a member of (we don't all work at it!)	72 47 157 209 97 111 140 34 104 179 76
	17 60
F. Undue reverence for one's forebears	85 54 119 138 147 159 197 18 134 70 93
	123 141 173 178
G. Frenzies of emotion, as for something unattainable	112 95 13 25 35 81 101 146 169 185 203
	221 226
H. A type of basin or tank	194 82 10 149 136 63 118 162 216
I. Too high an evaluation of property (for taxes, that is)	126 172 3 26 68 131 151 182 204 215 6
	12 58 66
J. One of Beethoven's works	132 29 177 98 145 158 107 211 230 2 88
	218 225
K. Some who deny this promote WORD P	150 5 19 21 27 48 129 133 165 55 171
	69 196 180 78

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
L. A fancy way of serving eggs	156 153 14 121 79 59 144 96
M. Category to which ostrich, emu, cassowary, and moa belong	170 122 106 214 163 62
N. Employing	212 8 103 80 108
O. A robot or automaton	228 7 15 24 90 166 175 192 232 33 56
	94 213
P. Unscramble NORTH OF BROOMHEAD	116 11 30 39 44 53 61 105 109 127 139
	176 198 210 227 75
Q. What the Yankees were, even with the Babe	224 115 200 220 168 64 124 32
R. Eight singers	16 23 205 148 219
S. Admittance	41 207 233 154 174 67
T. German geologist for whom a rare mineral was named	110 36 208 201 190 84
U. Any of several slender guans of the genus Ortalis	183 40 113 120 187 191 74 130 155 142
V. Thoughtful of others	199 42 161 188 89 181 217 222 234
W. Concluding passages of music played at a faster tempo	4 43 71 202 86 184 229
X. Type of shore bird; type of fish	50 167 186 189 91 57 125

See page 706 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of **Webster's New International Dictionary,** *Second Edition.*

							1 C	2 J	3 I		4 W	5 K	6 I	7 O		8 N	
9 D	10 H	11 P	12 I	13 G	14 L		15 O	16 R	17 E	18 F	19 K		20 A	21 K	22 D	23 R	
24 O		25 G	26 I	27 K	28 B	29 J	30 P	31 D	32 Q	33 O	34 E		35 G	36 T	37 B	38 A	
	39 P	40 U	41 S	42 V		43 W	44 P	45 B		46 A	47 E	48 K	49 D	50 X		51 C	
52 D	53 P	54 F	55 K	56 O	57 X	58 I	59 L		60 E	61 P	62 M	63 H	64 O	65 D	66 I	67 S	
	68 I		69 K	70 F	71 W	72 E	73 D	74 U		75 P	76 E	77 C	78 K	79 L	80 N	81 G	
82 H	83 B	84 T	85 F	86 W	87 C	88 J	89 V	90 O	91 X		92 D	93 F	94 O	95 G	96 L	97 E	
	98 J	99 D		100B	101G	102D	103N	104E	105P	106M	107J		108N	109P	110T		
111E	112G		113U		114D	115Q	116P	117C	118H	119F		120U	121L	122M	123F	124O	
125X	126I	127P	128B		129K	130U	131I		132J	133K	134F		135A	136H	137C	138F	
139P		140E	141F	142U	143B		144L	145J	146G		147F	148R	149H	150K	151I	152A	
153L	154S		155U	156L	157E	158J	159F	160D	161V	162H	163M	164B	165K	166O	167X	168O	
	169G	170M	171K	172I	173F	174S	175O	176P	177J		178F	179E	180K	181V	182I	183U	
184W	185G		186X	187U	188V		189X	190T	191U	192O	193C	194H	195B	196K		197F	
198P		199V	200O	201T	202W	203G	204I	205R	206B	207S		208T	209E	210P	211J	212N	
213O	214M	215I	216H		217V	218J		219R	220O	221G		222V	223B	224O	225J		
226G	227P	228O	229W		230J	231D	232O	233S	234V								

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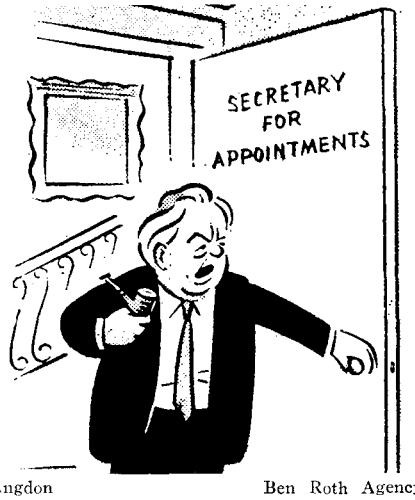
FOR THE RECORD

■ **Moscow sources** report there may be shakeup in administration that doles out Soviet military hardware internationally. It's now estimated Soviet Union has lost equivalent of $3 billion worth of military equipment in past two years: $2 billion in Middle East (Egypt, Syria, Iraq), another $1 billion when **Sukarno** was overthrown in Indonesia. . . . Preliminary figures indicate Arabs killed in 55-hour war may go as high as 30,000—as against announced figure of under 700 for Israel. . . . Part of secret: **Israeli air force** was so organized it could keep 80 per cent of its planes in air at all times (for limited number of days); couldn't be knocked out wholesale as were Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian air forces. . . . It wasn't until ten days after he'd been appointed Minister of Defense that Gen. **Moshe Dayan** found time for his swearing-in ceremony.

■ Britain, India stand to be the innocent victims of the war. . . . More than 35 per cent of **Britain**'s energy comes from oil; 67 per cent of her oil comes from Middle East. . . . **India** hurting over delay in food shipments from the U.S., extra cost of shipping it around Cape of Good Hope. . . . **South Africa** reports it is rushing food supplies to Capetown and Durban to revictual 300 ships already diverted from Canal; thousands more are expected, many of them flying flags of nations that have trade sanctions against South Africa. . . . Secretary **McNamara** says U.S. forces in South Vietnam in no danger of immediate oil squeeze: they have 17 million barrels stockpiled. . . . Sidebar on war: Tunisia and Egypt have resumed diplomatic relations broken in 1966 when **Bourguiba** suggested Arabs should negotiate settlement of Palestine refugees directly with Israel. . . . Getting the point across: anti-U.S., Britain demonstrators in Peking paraded clay statues of **Harold Wilson, Lyndon Johnson** in front of British diplomatic mission, both of them shown being strangled to death.



Angdon Ben Roth Agency

"No hurry about a Poet Laureate—shan't need one until about the time of our Common Market entry."

■ Appointment of **McGeorge Bundy** to special commission to oversee Middle East situation touched off umpteenth rumor that he will be the man to replace the perdurable **Dean Rusk**. . . . Number of Senate doves running scared. Private polls in Oregon show **Wayne Morse** trailing **Robert Duncan**—among other things Morse is blamed for refusing to support Democratic hawk Duncan against Republican dove **Hatfield** in the '66 senatorial election. . . . **George McGovern,** who sneaked to victory by a few hundred votes in **LBJ landslide** of 1964, apparently has decided to go all the way in his break with LBJ: in a little reported speech in Aberdeen, S. D., he announced he might not support Johnson in '68. McGovern has also taken a number of dove speaking engagements around the country. . . . *Ramparts* Magazine has come out for **Martin Luther King-Benjamin Spock** peace ticket in '68, as has controversial Georgia legislator **Julian Bond.** Bond says he thinks the MLK-BS ticket would be stronger than a **Robert Kennedy-Martin Luther King** peace ticket. . . . Silver lining dept: *Sunday Ramparts* has folded after six months: No funds, few readers . . . **Dean James O'Meara** of Notre Dame Law School put it on the line at law honors dinner. **Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael** "and others like them" should be prosecuted for their anti-Draft activities: "for urging young men to 'become' conscientious objectors — a vicious absurdity which is nothing less than urging them to become perjurors and hypocrites." . . . Being organized in California, **"Support Our Servicemen"** (SOS) Committee—616 Canal Street, San Rafael, Cal.

■ New book by **William Bauer,** a Canadian diplomat who served on International Control Commission in Vietnam 1955-1957, says North Vietnamese aggression against the South started in 1954, that it was in fact the Communist continuation of the Korean War. Bauer supports U.S. position on Vietnam. . . . Malaysia is buying eighteen U.S. helicopters to use against **Communist** guerrillas in Sarawak and Sabah. . . . A recent **Radio Moscow** report says 100,000 persons have been killed by Red Guards since the cultural revolution started in Mainland China and that another five million have suffered "persecution and suppression." . . . Thousands of **Red Chinese teachers,** unemployed for over a year—the schools were closed early last summer—have moved on to new jobs, will be hard to replace when **Mao** decides the Red Guards have finished their job (and his enemies). . . . Australian Communist newspaperman **Wilfred Burchett** — the *National Guardian*'s man in North Vietnam has three children who were born in a) Moscow, b) Peking and c) Hanoi.

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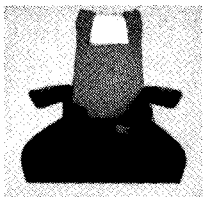

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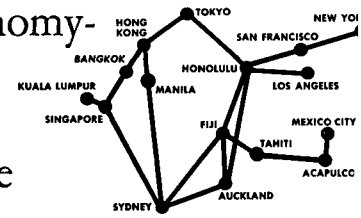

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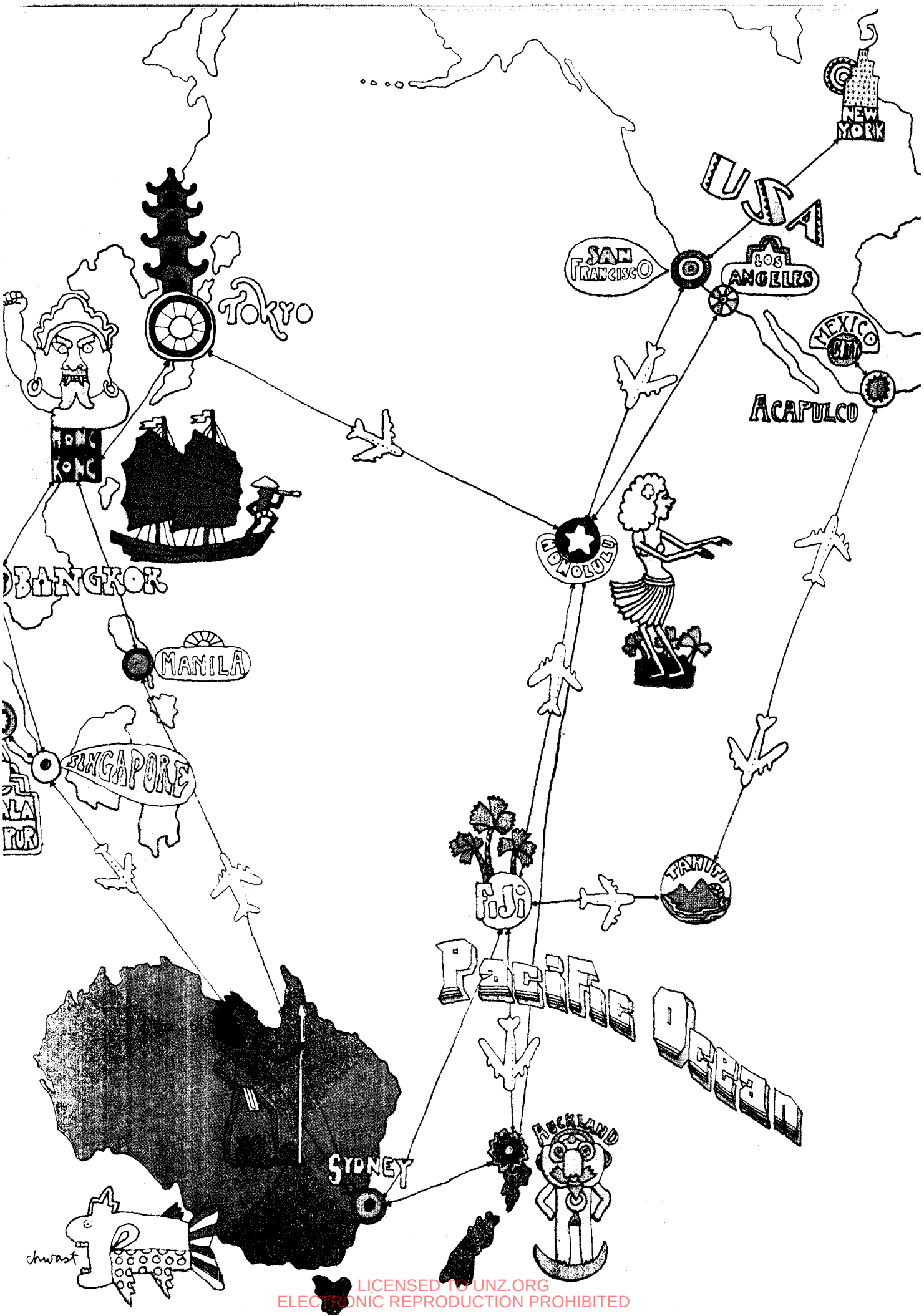

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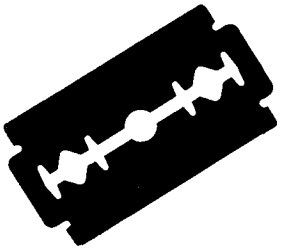
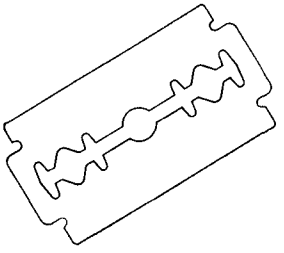
End of the Blues:



Blue two timer

"Cheap" carbon steel blades give most men only 1 or 2 shaves. They seem cheaper, but actually cost more per shave.



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